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NATIONAL CONVENTION

OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY

HELD AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, MAY 1 TO 6, 1904

Stenographic Report by
WILSON E. McDERMUT
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Edited by
WILLIAM MAILLY
National Secretary

ISSUED BY THE
NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
269 Dearborn Street, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



EUGENE V. DEBS

Nominated by the Socialist Party for President
of the United States, at Chicago, Ill.,
May 5th, 1904.



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Eugene V. Debs



UGENE V. DEBS, Socialist Party candidate for President, was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in 1855, and at the age of 15 years began work as a railway employee in the Vandellia railroad car shops. Afterwards he worked as fireman on a freight engine for several years and became a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He was made editor of the Brotherhood magazine in 1877 and three years afterward he was chosen general secretary and treasurer, a position which he occupied for thirteen years, resigning in 1893 to organize the American Railway Union, which was intended to unite the railway workers of America in one great organization.

Within a year the Great Northern Railway strike was fought and won. Through this contest the wages of thousands of workers from St. Paul to the Pacific coast were saved from reduction and the railway managers awoke to the fact that they had a new power with which to grapple.

In May, 1894, the famous Pullman strike occurred. Unable to affect a settlement by arbitration, the A. R. U. took up the matter in the national convention in session at Chicago in June. As a result a boycott was declared against the Pullman cars, to take effect June 26. Within a few days the entire railroad system of the country extending from Chicago West and South to the Gulf and Pacific coast was tied up and the greatest labor war in the country's history was on.

On July 2, 1894, Judges Woods and Groesbeck, at Chicago, issued a sweeping "omnibus" injunction. Mr. Debs and associates were arrested for contempt of court, on alleged violation of the injunction. They were tried in September, but Judge Woods did not render a verdict until December, when he condemned Mr. Debs to six months' imprisonment, and his associates to three. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, which sustained the lower court, and in May, 1895, the imprisonment in Woodstock jail began. The term expired on

November 22, 1895, and on the evening of that day the prisoner was honored a reception in Chicago, the like of which that city had never seen.

Debs and associates were also indicted and placed on trial for conspiracy, and the trial continued until the evidence of the prosecution had all been heard, but suddenly, when the defence began to testify, a juror was taken ill during a temporary adjournment and the trial abruptly terminated in spite of all efforts of the defendants to have it continued. They were anxious to bring the General Managers' Association into court and show who were the real law breakers and destroyers of property. An acquittal by a jury upon substantially the same charge as that upon which they were imprisoned for contempt would have been fatal to Judge Woods.

On January 1, 1897, Debs issued a circular to the members of the A. R. U., entitled "Present Conditions and Future Duties," in which he reviewed the political, industrial and economic conditions, and came out boldly for Socialism. Among other things he said: "The issue is Socialism vs. Capitalism. I am for Socialism because I am for humanity. The time has come to regenerate society—we are on the eve of a universal change."

When the A. R. U. met in national convention in Chicago, in June, 1897, that body was merged into the Social Democracy of America, with Debs as chairman of the National Executive Board. The following year (1898) the Social Democratic Party was started as the result of a split in the Social Democracy. In 1900 Debs was nominated for president as candidate of the Social Democratic Party, which was afterward merged into what is now the Socialist Party.

During the past seven years Debs has devoted all his time to lecturing and writing for Socialism, and has also taken part in some notable strikes in the industrial and mining centers of the East and West. He has visited every state during his travels and carried the Socialist message into more places than probably any other man in America.



BEN HANFORD

Nominated by the Socialist Party for Vice-President
of the United States, at Chicago, Ill.,
May 5th, 1904

Ben Hanford



BEN HANFORD, of New York, candidate for Vice-President on the Socialist Party ticket, has long been known as one of the hardest workers in the Socialist movement.

He combines to an exceptional degree the qualities of agitator, speaker and writer, and he is therefore a worthy companion to the presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs.

Hanford has been a Socialist over ten years and a trades unionist for twice that period. He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, 46 years ago, but began life as a wage worker in a country printing office in Iowa. He shortly afterward went to Chicago, where he joined the International Typographical Union, of which he has been a member ever since. He has worked in printing offices in every city east of the Missouri river.

Hanford became a Socialist in Philadelphia and upon removing to New York in 1892 not only continued his activity as a trades unionist, but threw himself into the Socialist movement with all the intensity and earnestness which has always characterized him.

Although he has never held an office in his union, and has never been a candidate for one, he has answered to the call of duty for the political working class movement several times. In 1898 he was the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party for governor of New York, but leaving that party the following year because of disagreement with its policy, he joined the Social Democratic Party (which is the official name of the Socialist Party in New York state) and in 1900 and 1902 was its candidate for governor. In the latter year the Socialist vote increased from 12,069 to 23,400, giving the party third place on the ballot in that state.

Hanford's writings have become deservedly popular, his "Rail-riding in the United States" winning distinction for its merit and originality. His "Jimmy Higgins" has appealed to all Socialists as a description of a type peculiar to the Socialist movement everywhere.

As a speaker it has been said of him, "Two qualities go to make Hamford a convincing and an inspiring speaker—a burning earnestness, as evident in his daily private life as in his appearance on the platform, and an ability to clothe his thoughts and feelings in the simplest and most direct language, so that no hearer can fail to understand.

More than this, he is a workman, a class-conscious workman, in every fiber of his being—living the life of the working class, thinking its thoughts and instinct with its feelings, full of its growing hope and self-reliance, hating class rule with all his soul and despising the sham and meanness and cruelty which are necessary to what is conventionally called 'success.' Thus he speaks for the working class when he speaks from his own experience, and he speaks in the sincere and unmistakable language of his class."

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

National Convention Socialist Party of America

Held in Chicago, Ill., May 1st to 6th, 1904

FIRST DAY'S SESSION

Acknowledgment

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Acknowledgment is herewith made of services rendered by Commanders Charles Dobbs, Secretary of the Convention, and Charles R. Martin, Assistant in the National Office, in editing and otherwise preparing this report.

WILLIAM MALLY,

National Secretary.

The National Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States was called to order by National Secretary William Mally at Brand's Hall, Chicago, Ill., Sunday morning, May 1, 1904, at 10 o'clock. After preliminary announcements regarding railroad fares, and the "Marsellaise" song, Secretary Mally announced that the Committee on Credentials, when selected, would meet for the present in the lodge room on the second floor of the Revere House. The Secretary then read the official call for the convention, and before calling for the election of temporary officers, presented the names of the delegates and a roll of names. "Before calling for the election of temporary officers for the convention, which I believe will be the next thing in order, I am glad to be able to announce to the convention that the comrades of Wisconsin have presented to the Socialist Party a candidate for the National Convention. The names during the convention and succeeding conventions, this year, will be in the name of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin."

The announcement was greeted with applause. Nominations for temporary chairman were then called for, and James F. Ca-

rey, of Massachusetts, and N. A. Richardson, of California, were placed in nomination. Carey was elected on a rising vote, and on motion of Richardson of California, the selection was made unanimous.

Secretary Charles Dobbs of New York was elected without opposition.

The Socialist Singing Society of Chicago then entertained the convention with the "Marsellaise" and other songs and the convention passed to the selection of a Committee on Credentials.

Committee on Credentials

THE CHAIRMAN: The next business in order is the election of a Credentials Committee. (Ohio) I rise to ask this convention a question. Is it in the sense of the delegates that a person who sends a congratulatory telegram to a candidate of a party in opposition to the Socialist Party should be recognized as a class-consensus representative of the party?

THE CHAIRMAN: I desire to state to the delegate that that matter can properly be brought before the Credentials Committee. If any delegate has any objections to any person who may

be applying for admission here, such matters must be brought before the Credentials Committee, and upon report there by that committee, settled in this convention. We cannot anticipate who may deposit credentials.

DEL BANDLOW (Ohio): I understand that it is not a question in regard to any delegate, but it is a question to be settled in this convention whether or not in their estimation anyone who sends congratulatory telegrams to political candidates in opposition to the Socialist Party shall be recognized as a class-conscious representative of the working class.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair desires to state that we are not as yet a regularly organized convention of the Socialist Party. We are in preparation of an organization. If the persons present desire to make an expression on that point upon motion, the chair will have the pleasure of putting the question of their admission to the convention of the Socialist Party, because the delegates and credentials have not been received and have not been acted upon. We are yet so far as being a convention is concerned, nothing more than an assemblage of persons who declare that they are delegates. However, the Chairman awaits any action of the convention. Upon motion of Delegate Work, of Iowa, the convention proceeded to elect

AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at two o'clock P. M. by Temporary Chairman Carey, but owing to the small number in attendance the recess was extended until the call of the Chair. At 2:45 the Chair called the convention to order, and the results of the ballot on the Committee on Rules was read, as follows:

Peatrose, 84; Yule, 74; Will, 81; Steinman, 66; Hackett, 74; Gaylord, 74; Hays, 74; Hays, 74; Ford, 117; Tait, 67; Stoddard, 66; Parlin, 44; DeLuzan, 36; Robinson, 88. The seven delegates to the National Convention were: Mr. Peatrose (N. Y.), Mr. Steinman (Ill.), Mr. Gaylord (N. Y.), Mr. Ford (Cal.), Mr. Robinson (Wisc.), Tait (Ill.) Robinson were thereupon declared elected.

The secretary read the following communications:

a cranial committee of five members. The motion to make the committee consist of five members was reconsidered after eight delegates had been nominated, and when one of the nominees withdrew it was moved that the committee consist of the seven remaining in nomination. The motion prevailed and the following were declared elected as the Committee on Credentials: Garver (Mo.), Hayes (Ohio), Kronenberg (N. J.), Titus (Wash.), Floren (Colo.), Histrion (Wis.), Lee (New York).

By a large majority the delegates present resolved to prohibit smoking during the temporary organization, and the convention proceeded to the election of a Committee on Rules to consist of seven members.

The following delegates accepted nominations for membership of the committee: Pentose (Ark.), Work (Iowa), Will (Kas.), Stehman (Ill.), Bickett (Ohio), Gaylord (Wis.), Taft (Ill.), Slobodin (N. Y.), McFarlan (Mich.), Deutzman (Cal.), Robbins (Cal.).

The ballot was canvassed by four tellers and two judges appointed by the chair, as follows: Beryn (Ill.) and White (Mass.), judges, and Stevenson (N. Y.), Richardson (Cal.), Floate (Cal.), and Rose (Miss.), tellers.

Pending the announcement of the result of ballot, recess was taken until two o'clock.

Comrades of the Convention of the

Cleveland, O., May 1, 1904.
Socialist Convention, Brand's Hall.
Heartiest wishes. May celebration
Bohemian Socialists of Cleveland

The Socialist Sangrethund and the Liedertafel Freiheit of Chicago kindly invite you to attend a social arranged for the benefit of the delegates comrades from the different states at 55 North Clark street, in Trades Union Hall, Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock.

We shall be happy to meet the representatives of the working class at our headquarters at the stated time.

Afternoon Session, May 1

With best wishes, fraternally yours,
Socialist Saengerbund,
Liedertafel Freiheit,
Per O. Grischke, Secretary.

The invitation of the Saengerbund was accepted upon motion.

Upon motion it was decided to confer upon Comrade Jas. S. Smith, Chicago, full power to select a Sergeant-at-Arms.

Report on Credentials

The Committee on Credentials being ready with a partial report, Chairman Alberman Lee was recognized. Comrade Lee prefaced the reading of the report with the following statement:

"Our Committee on Credentials has passed upon all of the regular and unopposed credentials presented to it. I will first state in regard to the decision of the National Committee that no States should be entitled to representation which were in arrears beyond a certain time in payment of dues, the Credentials Committee voted not to consider this matter, but to refer it back to the convention without recommendation."

"The committee heard certain contests, and there was a motion brought against

the wrong of J. Stitt Wilson as a delegate from California upon a charge presented by Delegate Stanton, of Ohio, in writing, that Comrade Wilson had sent a congratulatory telegram to Mayor Samuel Jones of Toledo, on the occasion of his election, and that this was such a violation of Socialist ethics that it should deprive him from taking part in the deliberations of this convention. Comrade Wilson appeared before the committee and made the statement that

sign has name to such a telegram would not have allowed it. Upon this statement of Comrade Wilson, there being no further evidence or statements of fact upon the one side or upon the other, the committee unanimously voted to seat Comrade Wilson as a delegate from California. (Applause.)

"There was a further question raised in regard to Comrade Wilson's seat and the seat of Comrade M. W. Wilkins as delegates from California. The Statute of the party provides that the Secretary had included J. Stitt Wilson in the list of delegates and had included M. W. Wilkins in the list of alternates. He had issued regular credentials as delegates to Comrade Wilson, with the word 'delegate' on his card, and had no word 'delegate' on the card of Comrade Wilkins. It was explained to this arose out of a certain irregularity in the distributing of the state, the delegates there being elected by districts. There being two on the list of delegates from California, the question was raised, and at least one of whom, Comrade Helms, we are sure will not be present, the committee recommended that both Comrade Wilson and Comrade Wilkins be seated as delegates and ordered that the necessary badges be issued to them.

Two of the three cases the delegates were unable to present their credentials through some irregularity of the mails, their credentials not having reached them in time. In these cases, the committee having sufficient evidence, as they deemed, of the fact that they were regularly elected, have recommended that the delegates be seated. I have here the list of the delegates and alternates who were recommended to be seated, and if it is the pleasure of the house I will read the list.

The committee finds it necessary to call

that there be no smoking during the convention. Second.

DEKKERIRGAN (Tex.): I regard a notion of that character coming from a man, as being out of place. From a lady delegate it would have a proper place. But it is born of sentimentality, and it is inconsistent with the comradeship that should exist, and the comradeship that exists in Entropie between men and women under relations of the highest order. A woman exercises all the rights that a man exercises as to the selection of those that are favorable to her. We as Socialists have no right to

demanded from members here any action to suit our peculiar ideas as men or individuals. She has a right to exercise the privilege that all men exercise. I have a comrade here who likes to smoke. It is not offensive to him. I am satisfied. It is not offensive to him. I am satisfied that the lady delegates who are here come here feeling that they have all the rights that a man enjoys, and they are equal to the men and can protect themselves, and it is altogether sentiment, this supposed protection of woman. She can speak for herself and don't have to have a man to speak for her.

DEL. UFFERMANN (M.): I take issue with Comrade Kerrigan of Texas. This is not a question of sentiment; it is a question of common decency. (Applause.) There are men and women in this room who are not prepared to compromise to insist that those who do not like smoke shall be compelled to submit to it.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Orc.): As the comrade has intimated that we shall speak for ourselves, I will speak for myself. I am not representing the other ladies present. I have not objected to smoking personally, for the reason stated by the comrade. I have not even cranked. But speaking for myself, I make known to the comrades that I do protest against smoking second-hand smoke! (Applause.)

DEL. KERRIGAN: Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as one of the lady delegates has spoken, there is nothing for the convention to do but pass upon the objection she has made. Now, I say that the gentlemen who speak on this matter should carry their views out into life. If they do not smoke personally at home they do not smoke in public places. But it is a Socialist principle that we do not recognize any sex, and that is reason—

DEL. BARRETT (Ind.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Keegan has the floor until this point of order is settled.

DEL. BARRETT: He has already spoken once upon that proposition.

THE CHAIRMAN: The statement

made by the delegate from Indiana is correct, but there is no rule, and Delegate Kerrigan had risen and was the only delegate that had been recognized, and he still has the floor.

DET. KERRIGAN: In the absence of

DEB. KLENNIGER: All the doctors
of a rule—

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of a rule—

THE CHAIRMAN: In the absence of a rule Delegate Kerrigan can talk as often as he can get the floor and as long as he wants to.

regard for the rights of others, I expect as any delegate on the floor, but I do object to the introduction of sentimentality to prevent the women from coming into our movement. I know that

women do not object to anything in the conduct of men, providing they are within the rules of common decency.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to a point of order. Our Chairman has time and time again ruled that he was going to rule this convention according to parliamentary provisions.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Kansas will make his point of order and not criticize what the Chairman may have said. (Applause.)

DEL. PARKS: We are under par

come a supplement and take the place of parliamentary procedure as soon as they report, and until that time we are under parliamentary procedure, and it has been ruled time and again in this convention that we are to proceed according to parliamentary rules. The point of order is this: that no man shall twice upon one subject.

this kind a man can talk as often as he can get the floor. The point of order is not well taken. Delegate Kerrigan has the floor.

DELE. MORGAN (Ill.): May I ask a question?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not without the consent of the delegate.

MEL MORGAN: My point of order is this: that when we made you Chairman we became a parliamentary body and you are ruled by parliamentary usages.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of

DEL. MORGAN: I desire to appeal from the decision of the chair. The Secretary took the chair.

DEL. MORGAN: Mr. Chairman

and delegates, our Chairman has ruled that the delegate from Texas has the right to speak as long as he will and keep us here as long as he likes. I appeal from the decision of the chair.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Mr. Secretary, I want to speak to this house today. Now, I do not care as to the position that any of the members may take. Let us not confuse our personal views with the question. What is the question? It is not whether we like what DeLeon Kerrigan says or what he does not

may, whether he has talked twice or many talk a million times. The question is whether, in the absence of rules limiting the number of times a person may talk or the length of time that he may talk if a person is recognized by

Del. Carey resumed the chair. The decision of the chair was sustained. (Laughter.)

order. I raise the point of order that the Honorable Mr. Kerttikan of Texas has been discussing the philosophy or abstract theories of the Socialist movement, and has not confined himself to the smokehouse.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. (Laughter.) The delegate from Texas, who has got me into a lot of trouble already, will please confine himself to the subject.

Afternoon Session, May 1.

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Del. Phelan (Ill.) asked for recognition

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention will be in order until I state that under the rule the delegate from Texas has the floor, but that unfortunately we have no rules that may prevent a person from taking advantage of it. It is not my fault. I must simply act in accordance with the general practice. Several delegates endeavored to get the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Texas has the floor. Are there any other questions?

any parliamentary objections? DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): A point of order. The Committee on Rules is ready to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the conven-

tion would permit Delegate Kerrigan to say what he wishes we would have been through long before.

DEL. TAFT (III.): Which is the more important, for us to adopt rules

or have a discussion on smoking? THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Kerrigan has the floor parliamentarily. DEL. STEDMAN: A point of order. At the session this morning there were two committees elected, a Committee on Credentials and a Committee on Rules. After the Committee on

Centennials reported, there was nothing before this body except to receive the report of the Committee on Rules. That committee is now ready to report, and there is nothing that precedes their right to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair decides on the point of order that this convention is not the convention that met before two o'clock; that we are the organized body of the Socialist Party, regularly seated, and the meeting before was simply a mass of persons who claimed to be delegates. Delegate Kerrigan, you have the floor as long as you hold it parliamentarily, but I want to say that Comrade Kerrigan would have got through long ago if you would only let

DEL. KERRIGAN: It is placed me in an unfair attitude. I was unfair to say that I was discussing a subject that was not in line with the motion. I was not. The point I wish to make is that this motion is in line with most of the foolish notions that have placed the Socialist party in a wrong attitude. I say that the lady delegates who are here are able to take care of themselves.

and I am sure they do not want to place themselves in the attitude of being interested in the welfare of the party. They want to be in the class of comrades who are devoted to the welfare of the Socialist party. I have no desire to take up your time or harass the convention, as comrades seem to think, but I will insist on being heard when I am in the right, and that is all I have to say.

The motion that smoking be prohibited was finally put and carried.

The Chairman stated that the time for vacating the building (3:45) had already passed, and that if the rules were taken up they would convention was that of its own accord.

Delegate Hillquist (N. Y.) moved that the convention do not adjourn until the committees are elected, and that it then adjourn.

It was moved to adjourn until eight o'clock Monday morning. Seconded by DEL. SPARKO (N. Y.): I am in favor of this motion proposed by Delegate Hillquist of New York. I do not think that this convention ought to consider of paramount importance the arrangements for a banquet.

DEL. HEYDRICK (Pa.): I rise to a point of order. A motion to adjourn has been made and seconded, and that is the only proper way to adjourn. I am in favor of this motion to adjourn to a stated time is subject to discussion. A plain motion is not. This is a motion to adjourn to a certain time.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): A point of order. We are at present under the question of the Committee on Rules, and no other subject can be introduced. THE CHAIRMAN: I have no motion to add a body without time or with time is always in order, and Delegate Sharpe has the floor.

DEL. TAYLOR (Ill.): A point of order. A motion made while another matter is before the house is not debatable. It is only privileged when it is made after the house is closed.

THE CHAIRMAN: A plain motion to adjourn is not debatable, but a motion to adjourn to a specified time is always debatable. DEL. TAYLOR: But it is not privileged when there is another matter before the house. DEL. SPARKO: I think it is important that this convention get down to

its serious work. I am not in favor of considering as a matter of primary importance to interfere with the convention the arrangements that have been made for a banquet by the members of the Reception Committee. I think it was an act of ill judgment, to say the least, that in this hall which would necessitate the adjournment of this convention at an early hour, at such an important time, before the session of the convention had begun.

Now, comrades, we have not come from New York, the purpose of attending a banquet (Applause). We have no objection to a banquet; we have no objection to smoking; we have no objection to whatever to any pleasures of comradeship that can be introduced on an occasion of this character.

But we must have time to adjourn to the business of the Socialist party, and that must come first of all, and for any part, if the banquet has to be abandoned. If we have to go without it, we will go without it rather than impair the efficiency of the session.

Therefore I convene the delegates present will not vote either for adjournment now until to-morrow morning or for any adjournment which will necessitate the leaving undone of things which ought to be done at the beginning of its sessions.

The motion to adjourn was put and lost. The Committee on Rules, of the convention, made the following

Report of Committee on Rules

The Committee on Rules met at the Revere House and Comrade John Work of Iowa was elected Chairman. Comrade W. R. Gaylord was elected Secretary. The Committee begs to report as follows:

1. A chairman of each day's session.
2. A secretary and two assistants shall be elected for the entire convention.
3. A reading clerk and one assistant shall be elected for the convention.
4. A sergeant-at-arms for the entire convention.
5. Five (5) pages and five (5) messengers shall be appointed from visiting members by the sergeant-at-arms.

6. Four (4) tellers and two (2) judges to count all ballots shall be appointed for the entire convention.
7. A Committee on Platform shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.
8. A Committee on Constitution shall be elected, to consist of one member from each of the following sections: each organized state and territory respectively.
9. A Committee on Resolutions shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.
10. A Committee on Municipal Program shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.
11. The standing Committee on International Program appointed by the Minneapolis Convention shall report to the committee on Municipal Program.
12. A committee shall be appointed to revise the constitution.
13. An Auditing Committee of five (5) members shall be appointed by the chair.
14. A Committee on Ways and Means shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.
15. A Committee on Race Problems, to consider the Negro and Chinese questions, shall be elected, and shall consist of nine members.

W. R. GAYLORD, Secretary.

DEL. GAYLORD: I beg to report the following minority report signed by Seymour Steinman and W. R. Gaylord:

Minority Reports

A Committee on Trades Unions shall be elected, to consist of nine members.

A Committee on Farmers' Program shall be elected, to consist of nine members.

A Committee on Race Problems, to consider the Negro and Chinese questions, shall be elected, and shall consist of nine members.

1. Report of the Committee on Resolutions.
2. Nomination of candidate for Vice-President.
3. Election of Delegates to the International Socialist Congress.
4. Report of Auditing Committee.
5. Election of the National Campaign Committee.

W. R. GAYLORD, Secretary.

DEL. GAYLORD: I beg to report the following minority report signed by Seymour Steinman and W. R. Gaylord:

Minority Reports

A Committee on Trades Unions shall be elected, to consist of nine members.

A Committee on Farmers' Program shall be elected, to consist of nine members.

A Committee on Race Problems, to consider the Negro and Chinese questions, shall be elected, and shall consist of nine members.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the committee and of the minority. The chair suggests that you proceed to take the matter up seriatim, and report the matters to which there is no objection.

At this time, and pass the sections upon which there is no objection. Is there any objection to that procedure? If not, the Secretary will read the first paragraph. Thereupon the Secretary of the com-

path do not warrant it the impossibilities very probably will be victorious, that is all. In the State convention of Illinois we adopted a State program, and we are going to have it in Chicago. I stood for the program there, but I do not believe it is within the province of the national convention that they come up to a municipal campaign. It is there the phenomena is met, and there we will be able to meet it. And it was for the purpose of saving time and getting at rules which would keep local questions away from national questions, so that we could settle out and do away with that commerce.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I am not rising to debate whether we ought to have a program or ought not to have a program. We ought to let this thing to a committee and let that committee thresh out this subject of program and then bring in a report to this convention, but it seems as though it is ruled here that it is in order to discuss the merits of a program. Am I correct, Mr. Chairman?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, only inasmuch as the merits are necessarily involved in the question of appointing a committee at this time. We are not to lay out the work of the committee, but to speak to the necessity of the appointment of the committee.

DEL. PARKS: Then the way out of it is to let the committee report yes or no, and we will have a minority report and a majority report upon it. It is up to the order and decide at that time whether we are going to have a program or not. Now, I am not fully decided upon a program. I believe that rather than saying what we will do when we get elected to the office, we ought to act before the people in the public mind. (Applause.) Gentlemen, we cannot cross the river before we come to it. We do not know what we will think to-day or next week. We can only decide when next week comes. There has never been a revolution in the history of the world until after the revolution was in operation. After the revolution was worked out before the revolution took place. Of course, we are trying to for-

mulate some kind of program, and I hope we will refer this matter to a committee to decide and discuss the questions and bring a report in so that we can debate the thing properly at the proper time. I hold that this is not the proper time for the discussion of the merits of a program.

Del. Sengco moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will first vote as a substitute, on the motion of Delegate DeLong to strike out the recommendation of the committee, if the roll is called down, to make a State and Municipal Program. And if that is not carried we will then vote on the original motion to appoint a Committee on Municipal Program only. The vote is on the substitute to strike out the recommendation of the Committee on Kansas, for a State and Municipal Program.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now proceed to vote on the amendment of Delegate Berger, that a Committee on State and Municipal Program shall be elected to consist of nine members.

The amendment was then put and adopted.

DEL. GAVYLOD (Wis.): Is that the amendment?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the amendment, and it disposes of the original motion. We may just as well put before you now the original motion as amended, which now reads as follows: A Committee shall be elected to consist of nine members. That is the original motion as amended.

The original motion as amended was then adopted.

Section 11 of the Committee's report was then adopted.

All the Mills of Chicago Secretaries-at-large, and Comrade Spears as assistant.

Section 12 was adopted.

Section 13, providing for the appointment by the Chairman of an Auditing Committee of five was amended to provide that the Chair's appointees shall be subject to the approval of the delegates.

The section was adopted as amended.

Speakers Time Limited

DEL. GAVYLOD: "Section 15. Discussions shall be limited to ten minutes for each speaker. No speaker shall speak a second time until all desiring

to use their time shall have had an opportunity to speak. (Mo.) I wish to submit, to the delegates, the words "ten minutes," and insert "five minutes."

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I would be in favor of the report of the committee to give ten minutes, except on discussion of the program, whatever that is.

DEL. GAVYLOD: You will find out that delegates to speak on a very important subject by all means should have all the time necessary in order to state his views on the subject of the program. I would desire to have a speaker on the program as much time as he desires.

Question called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is an amendment to the amendment to the effect that ten minutes be the limit of time in the discussion of all topics before the convention, in which discussion the time shall be unlimited.

The amendment to the amendment was seconded.

DEL. WILL (Kan.): I wish to offer an amendment to the amendment, namely, that the discussions on program shall be unlimited, while other discussions shall be limited to five minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will take this as a substitute for the whole; that is the only way we can take it. The substitute motion is that all discussions be limited to five minutes, and the discussion on program shall be limited to ten minutes. Is there a second?

Substitute seconded.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I favor the original motion. I believe there are some important questions to come before this convention at least equally as important as the program, and I want all of those questions discussed properly. I am anxious to get home as the year, but at the same time we are in national convention assembled, and while we have all the time and have had all the time to make speeches here at this convention, I hope we will not limit the time to five minutes on important matters that come up. I favor the ten minutes rule.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I do not see the necessity for the amendment to the amendment. If it is the sense of the convention the delegates can have more time, and I do not see why this question should especially have more time than other questions.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I think it is more important to talk upon questions of platform and program than on smoke. I do not believe it is as important as some other. I believe both the program and the platform ought to be fully discussed. We ought to have at least ten minutes. I suggest that we leave that question open until the time for debating program and platform comes, and that we fix the time for the platform and program matters at that time. That will be Socratic.

DEL. CARP (Ill.): It does seem to me that the questions that are coming before this national convention are sixteen minutes if a man is going to speak upon them at all. I would not object if fifteen minutes were allowed for discussion on program. I believe ten minutes is sufficient for ordinary discussions, but I do not believe five minutes is sufficient, and I hope that the convention will vote down all these amendments and adopt the rule proposed by the committee. This convention will be historic. We can afford to stay here another day or two and thrash these important questions out, rather than stifle discussion and make decisions prematurely for lack of discussion, and leave unnecessary feeling in the minds of delegates, no matter what the result may be.

DEL. ROSE (Misses): There are some of us who believe that questions are come before this organization that are as important as the question of program, and whatever limit may be set that a speaker may occupy, I believe it would be wise to state that with the consent of the convention further

Motion lost, and nominations proceeded as follows:

Bandlow (Ohio), by Zorn (Ohio).
Hills (Kan.), by Stewart (Colo.).
Sills (Kan.), by Stewart (Colo.).
Black (Ill.), by Meyer (Cal.).
Sitt Wilson (Cal.), by Colo. (Cal.).
Burrows (N. J.), by Outram (Mass.).

Barnes (Pa.), by Gaylord (Wis.).
Weber (Ohio), by Klein (Minn.).
Meyer (Ill.), by Phelan (Ill.).
Seiver (Ark.), by Rice (Miss.).

Singer (Okla.), by Hayes (Oha.).
Clark (Neb.), by Wildorst (Ark.).
Krybill (Kan.), by Penrose (Ark.).

Delegate McKee, of California, moved to proceed to an election. Seconded and carried.

The list of names was read by the Secretary, and the following delegates declined: Steadman, Barnes, Jones, Bandlow, Mills, Clark, Burrows, Sills, and Penrose. The Chairman proposes Gerber (N. Y.) and Will (Kan.) judges; and Hayman (Mass.), Uffert (N. J.), McKee (Cal.), and Turner (Mo.), tellers, to serve throughout the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will next proceed to the election of a Committee on Constitution.

COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

The following nominations were made: Holman (Minn.), by Klein (Minn.); Steadman (Ill.), by Barnes (Pa.); Hillcutt (N. Y.), by Herron (N. Y.); Jacobson (Iowa), by Clark (Iowa); Clark (Neb.), by M. W. Wilkins (Cal.).

McClain (Mich.), by Menton Oswald (N. J.), by Kronenberg (N. J.).

DEP. BARNES (Pa.): I have a suggestion that we call the states alphabetically and go through them, and thus avoid confusion.

Seconded and carried. The roll of the States was called and the following names were made:

Alabama—Simons (Ill.).
California—Bandlow (N. Y.), Richardson and Patton (Cal.).
Connecticut—Lamb (Mich.).
Illinois—Bergin (Ill.).
Iowa—Lutes (Minn.).
Slobochin (N. Y.).

Indiana—Kerrigan (Tex.).
Kansas—Kerrigan (Tex.).
Kentucky—Dobbs (N. Y.).
Massachusetts—Keown and Little (Mass.).

Montana—Turner (Mo.).
Montana—O'Malley (Mont.).
Nebraska—Barnes (Pa.).
New Hampshire—Lee (N. Y.).
New York—Bischofer (N. Y.).
Ohio—Bandlow and Steadman (N. Y.).

Oklahoma—Smith (Ore.).
Oregon—Spargo (N. Y.).
Pennsylvania—Long (Wis.).
Wisconsin—Long (Wis.).
Mississippi—McGladry (Ky.).

Delaware—Simons, Patton, Steadman, Robbins, Dobbs, Keown, Little, Lee, Steadman, and Spargo declined the nomination.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to vote by ballot as on previous occasions.

DEP. BUTSCHER (N. Y.): Before we take another vote I want to say that I do not see how we can proceed to elect a second committee until we have the Tellers' report on the first, for reason that part of the delegates nominated on this committee have also been nominated and voted upon on the first ballot, and we are liable to elect men on the first ballot who will have to wait with the rest of the business until we get the report of the Tellers on the Committee on Platform.

THE CHAIRMAN: It will take time if you wait. In the meanwhile I should like this Committee and if any delegate should appear to have been elected the other committee, we can take them next time in the order of votes, or we can take them as they come.

Mr. Chairman, in the convention may be called. We will now proceed to vote by ballot as on the first ballot. The chair called for nominations. Committee on Resolutions, to consist of nine members—nominations to be made by States as before.

DEP. NAGEL (Ky.): I move you that the committee be elected by Mr. Chairman, that in case any delegate is elected on two committees, he should resign from one and the other of the committee on Resolutions and be elected in his or her place. The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion

passed if it appears that any one delegate has been elected upon more than one committee, he shall resign from such other committees and serve only upon the one he may select; and that the candidate receiving the next highest number of votes be declared elected to the vacancy thus created. The motion was then put and carried. THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to nominations for members of Committee on Resolutions.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The following nominations were made for the Committee on Resolutions:

California—Patton (Cal.).
Colorado—Krybill (Kan.).
Connecticut—Uffert (N. J.).
Illinois—Simons, Steadman, Patton and Jas. Smith (Ill.).
Indiana—Hyland (Neb.).
Iowa—Reynolds (Ind.).
Kansas—Keown (Ind.).
Kentucky—Robinson (Ky.) and Woodkey (Cal.).
Massachusetts—Kaly and Keown (Mass.).
Michigan—Dirro (Mo.).
Minnesota—Barnes (Pa.).
Missouri—Kalm (Mo.).
New Jersey—Robinson (Cal.).
New York—Hochin (Mo.).
Ohio—Farrell (O.).
Oklahoma—Whitman (Ind. Ter.).
Oregon—Wash. (Mont.).
Pennsylvania—Untermyer (Ill.) and Tresselt (Pa.).
Texas—Lutes (Tex.).
Wisconsin—Thomas (Wis.) and Bandlow (Ore.).

Delegates Uffert, Simons, Patton, Hyland, Woodkey, Bickert, Hochin, Farrell, Thomas and Bandlow declined the nomination.

The vote for Committee on Platform was then announced as follows:

Herron, 197; Debs, 143; Wilkins, 70; Mills, 75; Hamford, 166; Thins, 112; Smith, 75; Kroll, 151; Berger, 92; Larson, 71; Kroll, 151; Cook, 141; Gibson, 63; Snyder, 66; Webster, 23; Wilson, 50; Richardson, 56; Pielien, 34; Meyer, 18; Robinson, 21; Burrows, 15; Mills, 21; Steadman, 31; Clark, 1; Klein, 1; Hayes, 1; Clark, 1.

The following delegates were declared elected to the Committee on Platform: Herron, New York; Ben, George, D. Herron, New York; Matty, Nebraska; New man F. Thins, Washington; G. H. Strickland, New Jersey; Thomas E. Will, Kansas; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; M. W. Wilkins, California.

Delegate Steadman (Ill.) moved that the convention remain in session until the delegates had all been elected. Seconded.

Before the motion was put the vote

for the Committee on Constitution was announced as follows:

Ault, 30; Clark, 89; Bandlow, 114; Hightitt, 133; Belyin, 93; Holman, 62; Barnes, 101; Jacobson, 45; Kerrigan, 85; O'Connell, 62; Richardson, 83; Slobood, 98; Smith, 28; Turner, 64; Young, 13; Barnes, 132; Mailey, 25.

The following delegates were declared elected the *Committee on Constitution*: Morris Hightitt, New York; J. Mahlon Barnes, Pennsylvania; Robert Barnes, New York; Harry L. Slobood, New York; B. Belyin, Illinois; W. E. Clark, Nebraska; Walter Thomas Mills, Kansas; N. A. Richardson, California.

Delegate Steadman's motion that the convention remain in session until the committees had all been elected was then put to a vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are two more committees to be appointed according to rules. One is the *Committee on Press*, and the other is the *Auditing Committee*, consisting of five members each. The chair will announce the following appointments:

The Committee on Press: A. M. Simpson, Illinois; H. H. Walsh, Missouri; J. H. Walsh, Montana; G. H. Strobel, New Jersey; E. L. Robinson, Kentucky.

THE CHAIRMAN: That gives Delegate Strobel the choice of one or the other of two committees.

Adding Committee: Gustave Dressler, New York; Miss Carrie L. Johnson, Iowa; T. E. Palmer, Missouri; A. B. O'Connell, Massachusetts; H. M. McKee, California.

THE CHAIRMAN: Nominations are next in order for the *Committee on Ways and Means*, nine members to be elected.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS.

The secretary then called the roll of states, and the following were nominated:

California—Cobb (Cal.)
Illinois—Horton (N. Y.)
Indiana—Slobood (N. Y.)
Iowa—Jacobson (Ia.) and Leonard (Minn.)
Kentucky—Mailey (Neb.) and Stockell (Tenn.)
Michigan—Lamb (Mich.)
Minnesota—John D. Rockefeller (Langhert).

Missouri—Miller (Colo.) and Goo (Pa.)

Montana—Hitt (Mont.)
Nebraska—Jensen M. Smith (Ill.)
New Jersey—Carter (N. Y.)
New York—Morgan (Ill.) and Hook (Mo.)
Ohio—Lund (Wash.)
Oregon—Lund (Wash.)
Texas—Kerrigan (Tex.)
Wisconsin—Ammann (Wis.).

Delegates Horton, Slobood, Jacobson, Leonard, Mailey, Gonzalez, Smith and Morgan declined the nomination.

This leaving but nine delegates, motion was made that the rules be suspended and that these nine delegates declared elected as the *Committee on Ways and Means*.

Seconded and adopted. The delegates were then forth declared elected the *Committee on Ways and Means*: J. L. Cobb, California; C. H. Strobel, Tennessee; J. Lamb, Michigan; Guy Miller, Colorado; David Robinson, New Jersey; O. Lund, Washington; John Kerrigan, Texas; H. A. Ammann, Wisconsin; J. H. Walsh, Missouri.

THE CHAIRMAN: The last committee to be elected is the *Committee on Trades Unions*, to consist of nine members.

DEL. LAMB (Mich.): Mr. Chairman and Comrades: If I understand the motion right, the *Committee on Trades Unions* is to consist of nine members to be elected by trades unions. Is that part of the motion?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, that is not part of the motion; any nine delegates. The secretary will please call the roll of states on the *Trades Union Committee*.

TRADES UNION COMMITTEE.

The secretary then called the roll of states and the following nominees were made:

Alabama—Robinson (Ky.)
Arkansas—Parrill (O.)
California—Dobbs (N. Y.)
Colorado—Hayes (O.)
Connecticut—White (Mass.)
Illinois—Meyer (Ill.)
Indiana—Hollenberger (Ind.).

Iowa—Jacobson (Ia.) and Breckon (Ill.)

Kentucky—Palmer (Mo.)
Louisiana—Stevenson (N. Y.) and Hightitt (O.)
Maine—Lund (Md.)
Massachusetts—Carter (Mass.) and Hook (Mass.)
Michigan—Morton (Mich.) and Hightitt (N. Y.)
Minnesota—Bickett (O.)
Missouri—Bickett (O.)
Montana—Bickett (O.)
New Jersey—Hunger (Wis.)
New York—Hunger (Wis.)
North Carolina—Hunger (Wis.)
Ohio—Hunger (Wis.)
Oregon—Hunger (Wis.)
Pennsylvania—Hunger (Wis.)
Rhode Island—Hunger (Wis.)
South Carolina—Hunger (Wis.)
Tennessee—Hunger (Wis.)
Texas—Hunger (Wis.)
Virginia—Hunger (Wis.)
Washington—Hunger (Wis.)
West Virginia—Hunger (Wis.)
Wisconsin—Hunger (Wis.)
Wyoming—Hunger (Wis.)

Delegates Dobbs, Meyer, Breckon, Palmer, Barnes, Bandlow, Moore, Langhert, Steadman and Turner declined the nomination.

A delegate here suggested that the delegates be asked to take positions in regard to the trades union question.

THE CHAIRMAN: It was not the sense of the motion or adopted as part of that that trade unionists only be elected as representatives of the two labor organizations in the committee. We have no objection to any delegates taking into consideration whatever they may know about the matter. If any one of some aid to you, Comrades, if you will hear the results of the election of the committee on Resolutions, which the secretary will now read.

THE CHAIRMAN: The votes on that committee were as follows: (Cobb, 106; Hayes, 189; Lee, 120; O'Connell, 116; Hightitt, 28; Sparks, 22; Kline, 69; Heydrick, 65; Duntzman, 23; Knowles, 19; Langworthy, 14; Littlefield, 20; Londrum, 42; Reynolds, 55; Smith, 35; Turner, 44; Reynolds, 54; White, 52; Wilson, 50; Spencer, 54; Strobel, 52; Belyin, 1; Mailey, 1; Hightitt, 1; Slobood, 3; Platan, 2.

The following delegates were declared elected the *Committee on Resolutions*: James E. Carey, Massachusetts; Max Hayes, Ohio; Algeron Lee, New

York; James O'Connell, Indiana; Peter E. Barrows, New Jersey; Ida Cronch Harlett, Colorado; John Spargo, New York; Nicholas Klein, Minnesota; Charles Heydrick, Pennsylvania.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): While the ballot of being collected for the election of delegates, I thought it best to suggest, in order to get down to business, that the one receiving the highest number of votes on these various committees elected call the committees together this evening. I have had a little experience in some of these conventions, and it is generally the case that the delegates are slow in coming to business brought before them. A great deal of time could be saved if the committees could get together at once.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will announce that the National Secretary has made arrangements for the committees to meet at the State Hotel, commencing at 8:30 P. M. Randolph, for the reason that there are not sufficient accommodations at the Revere House. The members of the Committee on Platform will ask for the room of Geo. D. Horton; those serving on the Committee on Constitution will ask for the room of J. H. Walsh.

At all of the other committees will ask for the room of J. H. Walsh.

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charter of the State of Utah was revoked by the National Committee some months ago, because the State of Utah had not, for a period of about a year paid any dues, and had failed to carry out certain arrangements alleged to have been made by the National Committee. The Committee in regard to the payment of certain dues. Its charter was revoked, but now it appears this organization—which is not at present affiliated with the National Committee, sends its delegate here, and makes an offer to pay that back account, dating back a year or two ago. The Committee has decided, at the time of the suspension, or from the time when the account was incurred—offering to pay that account if their Delegate would be seated in this Convention. After hearing and considering the matter, the Committee recommends that Comrade Richards be not recognized as a delegate, but that this offer be accepted, without vote or vote, be extended to him.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the supplementary report of the Committee on Credentials. What is your pleasure?

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I move that the report of the Committee on Credentials be adopted in the order of business for tomorrow morning.

THE CHAIRMAN: What will you do with those upon whom the Committee has reported favorably?

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Committee be adopted.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I move to amend that motion, that the matter pertaining to the contests be submitted to the Constitutional Committee of this Convention.

Not motioned to accept the report of the Committee on Credentials. **DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.):** I move that Comrade Hagerly be seated as a delegate.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): The report of the Committee is before us and it covers many different points. Wouldn't it be well to take up the different cases one at a time, so as to prevent confusion? I am not sure, but I think so. I think as a delegate, that we proceed to take up the report of the Committee on Credentials separately, so that each case may be acted upon by itself, and that

we may not make indiscriminate jobs at it.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first motion should have included a motion to act upon it separately.

DEL. BARNES (Penn.): The report of the Committee is before us. If we effect any of them are intricate. If we effect any action upon Comrade Hagerly, covered now by the motion—

A delegate here raised the point of order that Comrade Barnes was not speaking to the motion before the House.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is moved to the consideration of the report separately.

A DELEGATE: Do I not understand that a motion has been made to seat Comrade Hagerly?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is a question of rule or procedure, and we can report until this motion is disposed of. Let us take up this motion to proceed with the report separately.

The motion was seconded and adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first matter presented by the Committee is a favorable report on a number of delegates.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I move that all these delegates favorably reported on be seated.

The motion was seconded.

A DELEGATE: Does that include Comrade Grady, of Illinois?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

THE DELEGATE: If that is the case, I move that—

DEL. MILLS: I make an exception of that. That is in the minority report and that would naturally be excepted.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegates Mills amends his motion that all those delegates who have been favorably reported upon, on whom there is no contest or discussion, be seated. That will exclude Comrade Grady.

DEL. MILLS: I move that all those delegates who have been favorably reported upon, on whom there is no contest or discussion, be seated. That will exclude Comrade Grady.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): A delegate from Arkansas asks that the delegation from Arkansas not bring forth that State being entitled to three delegates, and only two being here—that is, that the delegation from Arkansas be seated as a delegate. But as Comrade Hagerly had not been elected as a delegate, but is simply an Arkansas representative here at present, the Committee did not see that

it had anything to act upon, and therefore the report to the Convention without the recommendation.

RICHARDSON (Cal.): I move my motion to seat Comrade Hagerly as a delegate from Arkansas.

The motion was duly seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: I desire some information from the Committee on Credentials, as to who has requested that Comrade Hagerly be seated upon what recommendation he is to be seated.

DEL. LATHAM (Tex.): The State of Arkansas.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the State of Arkansas present?

DEL. LEEVER (Ark.): Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: I rule that the motion be carried, and we can report until we recognize only representatives of those elected one way or the other.

A delegate appealed from the decision of the Chair and Delegate Spargo, of New York, moved that the appeal be upheld.

Herbert Woodley of California vice Chairman of the Appeal, took the floor and placed the question of appeal on the decision of the Chair before the convention.

DEL. SPARGO: I rise to a point of information. Is this question of appeal from the decision of the Chair decided by the Convention?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think not.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): Roberts' Motion of Order says that in matters where it is not debatable that the question is to be put, then without delay, and this is a subterfuge to lay it on the table. We will have to vote on the appeal, and not on the question of whether it is debatable.

THE CHAIRMAN: My opinion of it is that when the decision of the Chair is appealed from that a motion can be made to lay that appeal on the table.

DEL. PARKS: I have Roberts' Rules of Order here.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, what does it say?

DEL. PARKS: It says a motion to lay on the table is not debatable and it cannot be amended.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded to lay the appeal on the table. All in favor of it will move.

A DELEGATE: I think the vote is split— I don't think the members

know what they are voting about.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, you want to take your vote over again?

A DELEGATE: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let me explain: A decision of the Chair has been appealed from, and a motion has been made to lay that appeal on the table. Now—

DEL. FLOATEN (Colo.): I am inclined to think that motion is out of order. I don't think you can lay an appeal on the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it can be done very well.

The motion to lay the appeal on the table was carried, and the Chair thereby sustained in this decision that Delegate Richardson's motion to seat Comrade Hagerly was out of order. The Chairman of the day then resumed the position in the chair.

DEL. CANN (Ill.): A question of privilege. I understand that if we adjourn now it will save the comrades \$12 for lights. I, therefore, move we adjourn.

Delegate Stedman raised the point of order that the convention, having voted to await the announcement of the result of the election, should not adjourn until the motion to adjourn was not in order unless that action of the Convention should be reconsidered.

The Chairman decided the point of order well taken, and upon a delegate stating that a motion to adjourn is always in order, the Chairman stated: "A motion to adjourn is a motion to adjourn under certain conditions, and we have to reconsider that before doing something else."

A Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations

DEL. LEE (N. Y.) For the Credentials Committee: H. Anlewski; A. Debski, S. Olafski and J. Liss from the Polish Socialist Alliance, wish to make arrangements it possible for affiliation with the Spanish and special committee of five be elected to meet these comrades and report to the convention.

A motion was made to concur in the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Gaydon moved to amend to the effect that a committee be appointed by the chair, that the committee be composed of five of the motion and the motion was amended.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is so ordered,

Delegate Berger retired from the Committee on State and Municipal Program, and J. J. Kelly of Massachusetts was substituted.

DELEGATE BRADY: I rise to a point of order. The Committee on Resolutions and Edward Moore of Pennsylvania was substituted. Delegate Hayes retired from the Committee on Resolutions and J. M. A. Spence of Wisconsin was substituted.

The Chairman appointed Delegate R. A. Southworth of Colorado as the Committee on Resolutions. Delegate Remond, who preferred to act on the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

The regular order of business was then resumed.

DEL. BRANDT (Mass.): Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: To what do you rise?

DEL. BRANDT: I rise to say just one word before we adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN: On what?

DEL. BRANDT: I believe the Chair stated that the committees would meet at one o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have not said the committees would meet. I said the suggestion was made that we do not hold any convention session to-night, as we are not in shape to do any work, and this convention when it adjourns, adjourn to meet at one thirty-to-morrow afternoon.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: Mr. Chairman, I desire to say that you have no authority to make such a statement as you have made here, because we have got it fixed in our minds that we shall meet and the way we shall adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you through with your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: I am.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will rule that the point of order is not well taken.

DEL. PARKS: I appeal from the decision of the Chair on that point, that he has no authority to make that statement.

DEL. STEEDMAN: I move you, Mr. Chairman, that—

DEL. BRANDT: Comrade Chairman, I have the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Brandt,

you have the floor unless you are willing to waive it temporarily as a favor to Comrade Steedman, to allow him to finish his motion.

DEL. BRANDT: Very well, Comrade Steedman, I move you, Comrade Chairman, that the resolutions be suspended and that when we adjourn we adjourn to meet at one thirty o'clock to-morrow.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. BRANDT: Comrade Chairman, that was just exactly what I wanted to say a few words about.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, it didn't take him long to say it. (Laughter.)

DEL. BRANDT: I simply object to adjourning till to-morrow until one thirty for this reason. You cannot have all meet at nine o'clock, but what work have they got to do? Nothing. You have got to give them some work. Where are your resolutions coming from? Are you going to meet here, or do you go up and put in your resolutions?

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Brandt, we will announce beforehand where the committees are to meet. Whether the resolutions or any thing else comes will go and offer them. As to the other committees, they have very definite matters to discuss.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Comrade Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Carey.

DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of order. (Laughter.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Carey has the floor, Comrade Parks.

DEL. CAREY: In order to have no possible conflict with Roberts—

DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Be seated; I haven't recognized you, sir. Comrade Parks will kindly be seated. Delegate Carey of Massachusetts has the floor.

DEL. CAREY: In order to avoid a possible conflict with Roberts (Laughter) I desire to suggest that the motion made by Comrade Steedman is to suspend the rules, and his desire is simply to suspend the rules pertaining to the hour we meet.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. CAREY: And that, therefore, it is not necessary to suspend all the rules.

THE CHAIRMAN: That was not the motion.

DEL. CAREY: The motion was that the rules be suspended.

THE CHAIRMAN: The rules concerning the hour of meeting for to-morrow, that is about all.

DEL. CAREY: Very well, but it was so stated, and I desire to avoid a conflict with Roberts. (Laughter and applause.)

The question was here called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: All those in favor of the motion which adjourn at one thirty o'clock to-morrow afternoon, and let the committees work in the meanwhile, will please say "Aye."

The motion was carried and the convention adjourned until one thirty p. m., Tuesday, May 3.

THIRD DAY SESSION

Secretary Mallory called the convention to order at 1:30 o'clock.

Delegate Richardson of California was nominated for Chairman of the day by Delegate McKee of California. There being no other nominations, Delegate Richardson was unanimously elected Chairman.

Vice-Chairman, Delegate Snyder of Oklahoma and Delegate Stockell of Tennessee were nominated. Delegate Stockell was elected, and in the absence of the Chairman the Vice-Chairman took the chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The first order of business is the report of the order of business committee.

Committee on Credentials, through Delegate Lee, presented a report recommending the admission of Frederick W. Ott as delegate from Wyoming, and Frederick G. Strickland as alternate from Colorado. (On motion of Delegate Jacobson (Iowa) motion was accepted and the delegates seated.)

Cablegram

Delegate Jonas (N. Y.) read in German to the convention a cablegram from the German Committee of the Social Democratic party of Germany. Secretary Dobbs read an English translation of the cablegram, as follows:

"National Convention Socialist Party, Chicago, Brand's Hall: assembled for the work of selecting candidates for the national candidates. Three cheers for the International Socialist Movement."

The Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. The reading of the cablegram was received with great applause that a return cablegram be sent to the German comrades. Seconded and carried.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): I desire to make a motion, pending the report of the Committee on Credentials. Last night there was elected a Polish Socialist delegate to the Polish Socialist Alliance. Now it has come to the

knowledge of the members of this committee that somewhat similar question will come up in the convention concerning the Italian and other that the first I would like the committee be extended as to include all similar organizations in the United States. Seconded.

A DELEGATE: I desire to move an amendment that the functions of the committee elected to confer with the delegates of the Polish Socialist Alliance be so of the organization and affiliation of the foreign speaking Socialists in America.

Seconded, and motion as amended carried.

Delegate Lee from the Committee of Credentials presented the following address: "Schiedel, F. Broekhausen and Fredrick Heath, all of Wisconsin; and Frank Kuntz, alternate from Colorado. The committee recommended the seating of the delegates, and the recommendation was concurred in by the convention."

DEL. HAYFORD (N. Y.): I move that the committee be moved to amend Rule 17 so that the same may read as follows: "Roberts' Rules of Order shall be used, with the exception that when the previous question shall have been called for on matters involved in or pertaining to reports of committees or delegates, on and after three minutes each delegate shall debate before such question is put."

DEL. HAYFORD (N. Y.): I move that we proceed to the regular order. Motion seconded and carried.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The first order of business is the report of the National Secretary.

National Secretary's Report

National Secretary Mallory then made his report as follows: "In submitting this report as National Secretary of the Socialist party, I shall consider myself those questions which I have come to

consider as essential to the development and progress of the movement. In the settlement of these questions is bound up the future of the movement in whose interest this convention has been assembled.

The industrial and political situation, presenting new phases from the past, will continue to give birth to new problems and demand the participation of all Socialists, and our ability to meet these problems and successfully dispose of them will depend more than all else upon the strength and consequences of the organization representing the Socialist movement of this country. The first step we can expect to be thought capable of administering and directing the affairs of this or any other nation, they must first prove their fitness for the task by displaying the ability to administer and direct the affairs of the industrial organization of their class, and the bureau of this task that I believe their best efforts and most conscientious endeavor should be applied for some time to come. In short, the government of the Socialist party organization must be the means of fitting and preparing the representatives and members for the larger task the future generation of responsibilities.

I desire to emphasize, therefore, the importance of our members giving increased attention to the methods of transferring the party business in their respective local, state and national organizations. They must assume themselves thoroughly with all the administrative and administrative details, such as conducting the meetings and carrying on the keeping accounts, making reports, and other duties involved in the general government of the party.

They should post themselves as far as possible upon the detail of party activity in every field and to represent as their other comrades whose fitness especially qualifies them for these positions. More important still, they must continue to develop the spirit of self-confidence, of dependence upon themselves, of faith in their ability through their own foresight and ability to settle a given situation and to overcome all the difficulties which lie

between here and the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Of the writing of books, the making of speeches, and the editing and publishing of papers, there is no end, but there is an appreciable lack of application to the executive part of the party work and other educational features of the movement may be, yet these factors will continue to be more or less barren of results so long as the party organization is not properly equipped to take full advantage of them. Hereafter in the early stages of the movement the greatest amount of energy has been expended upon the dissemination of literature and the holding of public meetings, or of any other purpose to which it is applied, neglecting therefrom instead of organization, money and enthusiasm. As one result, there is now in this country a tremendous amount of Socialist sentiment of which we cannot take advantage because our organs are not yet in a position to try to adjust the mechanism of the party to secure the best results with the least expenditure of effort and money, so that the gathering forces of Socialist thought and sentiment can find concrete expression at the time to which a Socialist party is due. Perhaps no only himself offers less creditable glory or immediate reward than that of faithful participation in and unremitting devotion to the details of party organization, but this very fact makes it all the more imperative that the task should not be taken. It is, therefore, but soon after thinking the party members pay the penalty for their indifference or carelessness by becoming involved in disagreeable situations which create disharmony and dissension, and they could have been well served by the first place. They should receive the proper share of public reward and attention. For this reason these positions will naturally be the most coveted, and the persons holding them will continue to have a greater personal influence

through their association directly and indirectly with the general membership.

For example, during the past year the number of applications for commissions as national organizers has increased to 1,000, and the total number within the ability of the national headquarters to employ at a given time. The comrades filing these applications were in many instances new and inexperienced, but filled with a creditable enthusiasm to be of service to the movement of more experience, but displaying a singular lack of comprehension of the scope and character of the party work. A majority of the applicants desired to be placed at work at once, and some were so insistent that they would brook no delay in their appointment that they would not be withheld.

It did not seem to occur to these comrades that, however worthy their motives and ambitions might be, it was quite impossible for the national headquarters to utilize all the available material placed at its disposal. Nor did they seem to realize that there were other ways of utilizing their energy and untamable ardor to the movement, ways relatively as important as those sought for, although offering fewer inducements to the enthusiast, but requiring qualities of the highest possible value to the cause of Socialism.

The comrade, however, who assumes the burden of executive and organizing detail must be prepared to accept responsibilities which are comparatively unknown to the worker in other fields. Such a comrade must be possessed of patience with himself and others, and the most exacting and often unrelenting criticism must be imperatival and impartial. He must be prepared to accept the work of those for and with whom he works, even at the temporary sacrifice of his own opinions. And, above all, he must expect to be misunderstood and misrepresented by those to whom his activity is directed.

All of this will be difficult and disagreeable and other lines of work will bring greater attractions, but none will bring the immediate and permanent benefit to the Socialist movement faster than this one will. This fact in-

itself will be the most satisfying and satisfactory reward that can come to any Socialist. If the course indicated has not been followed more generally in the past it is not because the will was lacking, but because the will was being bent to the wrong thing, but because the vital importance of this special phase of the party work has not been recognized. It only requires such recognition to call into action the latent executive ability which now lies dormant in the membership everywhere and upon the destinies of the movement and the future success of our movement greatly depends.

This subject has also another phase which should not be overlooked. If the Socialist party differs from other political organizations, it is in this: that the membership and not a few leaders control and direct the movement. It is the membership which constitutes its chief strength and must make it uncomquerable and triumphant in the future. The organization must be democratic in the true sense of the word or lose its identity as one representing the working class movement to democratize the world. It follows, therefore, that the movement and development of self-government within the organization can the spirit and practice of democracy be maintained and the movement held to its true course. Embodying as it does the vital principles which make for the liberation of mankind from the domination of a few, the Socialist party must announce, through its own actions, democracy as a fact limited only by those restrictions which, capitalist conditions impose upon it.

But we should understand that a democratic movement is not one in which unrestricted individualism is so much as democracy seems to believe. True democracy involves co-operation, and upon our ability to co-operate successfully everything depends. And co-operation in turn involves adaptation to one another, the ability to accept the views of others, and the ability to be wherever expressed, as our individual will, until such time as our individual will can be expressed by the majority. And this again in turn involves faith in the movement as an organized force, the exercise of charity toward each other and the prevalence of

the spirit of comradeship throughout the movement.

Another, perhaps, in the capitalist world is it very difficult to organize a Socialist movement upon purely democratic lines than in this country, where the spirit of individualism has been distorted out of its true proportions until the simplest tasks of organization are condemned by some people as being "undemocratic." There have yet to learn that the poorest and highest individualism is that which can subserve itself when it requires, to the social will and social good. The real bureaucracy to fear is that which would make a few people the unpurged and unrepresentative of the movement. There need be no fear of any kind of a bureaucracy so long as the party machinery remains in the hands and under the control of an alert and enlightened membership.

When these self-evident propositions become more generally recognized and acted upon, the Socialist party will be the stronger and more effective organization with which to conduct the struggle with the rapidly combining forces of the capitalist enemy.

THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

The present condition of the party organization is generally satisfactory, when the stage of its progress is considered. The form of organization which has been presented as a consequence with which, with a revision of the constitution, and the development of the organization, should gradually disappear. The present constitution was a hastily prepared document, and it was natural that it should be faulty.

My ideas upon the character that the organization should take have been expressed elsewhere as follows: "The Socialist party must be more than a mere political machine; it must be so managed and controlled that the highest degree of democracy consistent

with efficiency as the directing force of Socialist activity must be attained. We will have to be most provided with a degree of democracy in the concentration of the forces of agitation and education. The national headquarters should be the nerve center of Socialist activity, the clearing house through which the different state organizations can be kept in close touch and sympathetic with each other, thus forming a solid front in which the organized Socialist forces can converge and act unitedly.

The chief problem before us, then, as an organized body, is how to combine democracy in management, efficiency in action and economy in labor and expenditure of money.

The existing political system requires that state autonomy must necessarily continue to be the basis of organization, but its boundaries and limitations must be more definitely prescribed. There has been a tendency toward exclusiveness, to place the interests of a single state organization above those of the entire movement, a tendency as injurious as the other extreme of concentrating authority over the membership in a central committee. One carries state autonomy to the extreme and makes toward anarchy, the other denies democracy and makes toward absolutism and dictatorship. Our national organization must be fluid enough to invite or encourage neither one nor the other.

Under the present constitution there is danger from both. The national officials may become aware, through the efforts of the party, of the existence of the party organization are unknown to the membership, either neglecting their duties or perverting their powers, to the injury of the party in that state or the entire country, and yet the national officers are powerless to act. Provision should be made for the election of a national executive authority, but merely along the lines of suggestion, information or investigation, leaving final action to the membership of the state itself.

On the other hand, there is no constitutional provision against representatives of the state organizations interfering with or usurping

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ing the duties or rights of other state organizations and their members, or the duties and rights of the national organization in unorganized states and territories. The activities of state officials should be confined to their own states where their responsibility lies, except when agreement is specifically made either with other state organizations or the national organization, as the case may be.

There should also be constitutional regulations to protect the national party against the violation of the principles and platform of the Socialist party in any organized state or territory.

The qualifications for membership in the party should be made as uniform as possible in all states so that all members may enjoy equal privileges. A system of regulation of transference of membership from one state to another should also be adopted.

In order to avoid the recurrence of having state organizations formed where geographical or other conditions are unfavorable to their effective or permanent existence, the membership in any unorganized state or territory should reach a certain number before the movement for a state organization can be initiated. Desires to establish state organizations before conditions were ripe for them has resulted in serious and in some cases disastrous discrimination in several places through failure on the part of these organizations to properly maintain their reputations to have been good users of state resources. This is a point that usually takes better care of local and unorganized states and territories. In all countries make a state or territorial organization necessary and justifiable.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The present form of the national committee elected from the various state organizations is objectionable and should be abolished. The principal objection lies in its fostering of factional divisions in the party. The national committee is supposed to represent the entire party and to act upon matters affecting all the states, while at the same time its individual members are only responsible for their actions to the respective state organizations which elect them, so that the party has absolutely no jurisdiction

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them was mostly new. The financial support given them has been encouraging and gratifying, although in a number of cases the contractors at various places did not appear to realize the great responsibility borne by the national headquarters for these organizers. The idea seemed to prevail that because the organizers involved for the national organization

There was no need of rendering any financial assistance. If the national office had unlimited resources at its disposal, it would have been able to command this belief might be warranted, but the contrary is true, so that this word upon the matter may not be amiss.

As the different state organizations have been developing, the need for development of national organizations, and the necessity for national organizations will become increased. The present method of selecting national organizers and lecturers, by the requirement of certain qualifications upon the part of applicants, such as length of party activity, the acquisition of Socialism, and special knowledge of Socialism, and the details of organizational work, is not sufficient to develop the

The concentration of the relation of the office of General Organizer, "The activities of this official would not be confined to any section, and his services would be available at all times for the purpose of representing the national organization whenever occasion would require, he has had been need of such an official several times during the past year, and it is my opinion that sooner or later one will have to be selected." The duties of this official would cover a wide field and his work would be of great value to the party.

Propositions will probably be made at this convention for the formation of the foreign-speaking committee, which will be affiliated with the national organization. This is a matter which should receive your careful consideration, as it is necessary that the national party secure the active co-operation of the workers of all nationalities in the movement against capitalism. Whether it would be desirable to have a committee to deal with these workers organized into locals and branches of the party is a new question which the convention will have to pass upon in some-

specific manner so that a definite time of action can be pursued.

NATIONAL LECTURERS.

Unfortunately the condition of the party organization made it impossible to have very much system in the arrangement of the speakers. The speakers ranging of tours for many lecturers who had formerly usually traveled at high expense to the local and often-times at great inconvenience and hardship to the speakers themselves. To remedy this I have attempted, in accordance with instructions from the National Committee, to formulate a definite system of definite goals to which the speakers could be assigned, as far as possible, according to the degree capable lecturers at a normal expense, while guaranteeing these lecturers sufficient remuneration for their labor and time expended.

While this work has been fairly successful, yet it has been attended by difficulties only to be appreciated by those in the national office and into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter here. Some of these difficulties could be obtained by the adoption of definite rules to govern the training of interstate speakers, which rules would preserve the integrity of the state organizations within their respective boundaries, while also facilitating the general arrangement of engagements with the locals.

This would prevent the confusion and unnecessary expense which have been caused by state organizations assuming the role of routing letters and organizing when they are not properly organized to do so. The responsibility for the routing of letters to the national office, when the facts are that in almost every case the routing done by the letter was better than the routing done by the national office, should now be left to the state organizations. With the facilities that can be routed from the national headquarters much more economically than otherwise. Especially is this true of the routing of national headquarters letters to the national headquarters.

The effort to establish a letter system such as I have outlined caused the circulation of a report that I was attempting to form what was termed a "Bureaucracy of National Headquarters" out of the heads of national speakers and driving them from the field. I take this opportunity, then,

EXPENDITURES.

January\$264.45
 February 1,089.84
 March 1,564.36
 April 1,424.85
 May 1, 1964, balance on hand 5,261.50
 Assec. outstanding account 7,950.83
 Total balance\$13,247.98

The liabilities do not include dues and expenses due organizers on April account, financial reports having not yet been received.
 The balance of \$1,383.23 which was owing on Feb. 1, 1963, for old accounts assumed at the entry into the new year, 1964, has been entirely paid off.

(Signed)

WILLIAM MALLIX,
National Secretary.

At the conclusion of the reading of the National Secretary's report and financial statement, Delegate Richmond assumed the chair, and suggested that the report of the National Secretary be received and referred to the proper committees.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously and the report and financial statement were referred.
 It was the desire to ask the members or not any letters have been received by the National Secretary, the contents of which should be submitted to this convention.

NAT. SECY. MALLIX: All the correspondence is filed away and ready to be submitted if the convention wants it. I will not submit it until I have written our letter file up here if you want us to.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): There are letters, as I understand it, that the National Secretary has received that are of special importance. For instance, letters received from a committee composed of the National Secretary will recommend the fact that there are letters and that they are quite important enough to be submitted to this convention tomorrow.

NAT. SECY. MALLIX: There are letters from Comrade Ricker and a great many other comrades, and attention to decide whether that correspondence is important enough to be seen. Haven't I got letters from all sections of the country?

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, I seems to me that this is rather one of our business was to receive the report of the National Secretary. I have the report of the local quorum. Now, the next order of business is the report of the local quorum but before that report is presented I will request the Secretary to read the cablegram which is to be sent by the convention.

Secretary Dobbs then read the following cablegram which was sent in reply to the message received from Germany: "Executive Committee, Social Democracy of Germany, Berlin: Socialists of the United States of America return fraternal greetings of German comrades wishing them ever greater victories over the common enemy of the world proletariat."

The reading of the cablegram evoked loud and prolonged applause.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed with the regular order of business, which is the report of the local quorum. Who is to make the report of the local quorum? (The National Secretary) Work is section member of the local quorum. If the local quorum is not ready to report, we will proceed at once with the other order of business.

DEL. REYNOLDS (Ind.): The local quorum is ready to make its report.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Reynolds is section member of the local quorum.

DEL. REYNOLDS read the following report to the National Convention of the Socialist Party:

The local quorum of the National Committee of the Socialist Party of America reports that during the year of their service commencing with July 1, 1963, and ending with June 30, 1964, the National Secretary in Omaha, Nebraska, and the National Secretary in Chicago, Illinois, and the National Headquarters on April 28, 1964. Each meeting was held publicly, open to Socialist comrades, and the questions submitted to, considered and decided in the minutes of proceedings kept by the quorum and upon adjournment a full copy of such minutes was transmitted to the National Committee and published in full.

the socialist press of the country, thus giving full publicity to the best report of the local quorum of the national committee of the Socialist Party.

Practically unanimous.
 S. M. REYNOLDS,
 B. BERLIN.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I move you that the report be accepted and filed.

The report of the local quorum was seconded and the motion being put, was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Platform. Is the Platform Committee ready to report?

DEL. AL. W. WILKINS stated that the Platform Committee would meet again in the evening, and reported progress.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Platform Committee reports progress. The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Municipal Program. Is the Committee ready to report?

DEL. AL. W. WILKINS stated that the Committee would meet again in the evening, and reported progress.

THE CHAIRMAN: That committee being in session they are, of course, unable to report at present. The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Resolutions. Is that committee ready to report?

DEL. REYNOLDS (N.Y.): We are ready to make a report, Comrade Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will hear from Comrade Speer, and please let us have the report of the committee. It is the report of the committee, in fact, that we are to hear. These resolutions, in fact, are the resolutions that we are to hear. These resolutions are acceptable or not and will we hear them then.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is suggested that the resolutions be read and that any that may be in conflict or that are liable to be in conflict with other things that we have heard of, we will hear them then.

DEL. CURTIS: It isn't whether they are acceptable or unacceptable; we don't know but what they may be acceptable and still be in conflict with the constitution.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that there is nothing before this convention that is not acceptable to the general membership of order unless he wants to make

a motion. At present there is nothing open for discussion.

DEL. SLODODIN (N.Y.): I move you that the chairman, that we proceed with the report of the local quorum.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the Committee on Resolutions report such work as they have already done.

DEL. SLODODIN: And that no action be taken on the resolutions until they are printed and the members of this convention.

DEL. SMITH (Ill.): That is a motion that I think should be voted down unanimously. I don't know whether the committee has reported or will report all of the resolutions of every kind that it has submitted to it, but if it makes such a submission to it, it will not be a resolution that we do not want to have printed, and the printing of them would involve a great waste of our time and money, so I think we can safely hear them read first. We have no reason to be afraid of ourselves that we will not be able to handle them when we hear them, and I think that motion should be voted down.

DEL. BERGER (WVa.): I wish to state, Comrade Chairman and Comrades, that we can trust to the common sense of the committee to quash a resolution of that kind. Any resolution you would like to have printed, I will have it printed. That is what we have the committee for, to consider before we do what is worthy of our consideration, so I am in favor of the motion.

DEL. STEEDMAN (Ill.): I think it is necessary that we should have these resolutions printed. This is too important a matter to consider without knowing what they are. We are considering, and I think these resolutions are considering, and I can see no objection to their being printed.

A delegate from Indiana moved the previous question, which motion was seconded.

DEL. STEEDMAN: The question was then put, and the motion carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to vote upon the question that these resolutions be read but not acted upon until after they are printed and copies furnished to this body.

DEL. BERGER: That was not the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: What was the motion?

DEL. STEEDMAN: That was the motion.

DEL. BERGER: That was the motion.

DEL BERGER: Will Comrade Slo-
pote repeat his motion?
DEL SLODODIN: The motion is
that the report of the Committee on
Resolutions be not acted upon until a
copy can be furnished to each delegate.

The motion was then put to a
vote. DEL SLODODIN: I desire to a
point of information. I desire to know
if this committee has power or has been
granted the power to pass resolutions
that they do not favor, and not to bring
them to the surface?

THE CHAIRMAN: I will say that
no such power has been granted to this
committee. It is understood that the
committee presents a resolution to the
convention to pass or not to pass, and
they undertake to pass it, but they do not
undertake to quash it; he can bring that
resolution before this body in spite of
them. (Applause.) We will now hear
from Comrade Starpgo, Chairman of the
Committee on Resolutions.

Report of Committee on Resolutions

DEL SPARGO (N. Y.): The Com-
mittee on Resolutions has prepared only
a partial report. We thought it better
to present a partial report rather than
to incur the risk of any considerable de-
lay. This will request permission to pre-
sent the remainder of its report at a
subsequent time.

Now the question which has been
raised upon the floor this afternoon
came naturally before the committee. It
is self-evident that the committee should
be in a position to make a report which
is in its judgment, ought not to be con-
sidered by any serious-minded body.
Such resolutions there might be, but
your committee decided that it would
not be to the best interests of the So-
cialist Party in this convention for any
committee whatsoever to present a resolu-
tion which would be subject to any dele-
gate wanted to bring before the conven-
tion. (Applause.) So we, therefore,
decided that our business as a Committee
on Resolutions, consisted primarily in
this: We were to consider each resolu-
tion upon its merits. If they were not
written in the spirit of the convention,
that is, in the spirit of the work, if we
thought that they did not properly come within
the sphere or the jurisdiction of our com-
mittee, we would refer them to the com-
mittee to which they properly belonged,
and that upon all such resolutions as

we decided to consider, we would re-
port to the convention whether or not
we, as a committee, favor such resolu-
tions. In some cases we have had resolu-
tions in which the writers have ex-
pressly said that they were not serious-
ly and have forgotten the very things
they wanted to say, and by a
species of clairvoyance the committee has
undertaken to fill the void and to say for
the framers of the resolutions what the
framers of the resolutions started out to
say, and what they forgot to say. We
have resolutions consisting of "Whereas
and Therefore be it resolved" without
any resolution at the end, and we had
to supply, of course, the resolution at
the end. (Laughter and applause.)

A number of resolutions have been re-
ferred today to the Committee on Resolu-
tion from the state of New Jersey
and from the state of Connecticut, pro-
viding that the cost of the national con-
vention, so far as delegates' expenses
go, should be made a national charge.
We have a similar resolution from New
Jersey, in itself a duplicate in the con-
stitution, it would be idle for our committee
to bother with it, it would be idle for us to
trouble the convention with the burden
of rejecting it, and so we politely sent
it over to the Committee on Constitu-
tion, and told them that we did not want
it. We have two resolutions from the de-
legation from the State of New Jersey.
We thought that we could not present
the resolutions as they were presented be-
cause, if the New Jersey delegation has
any regard for the committee the com-
mittee that some regard for the convention,
they would not try to bring before the
convention a resolution of trying to say what the dele-
gation from New Jersey wanted to say,
except that we have also suggested a
important amendment to their resolution
they moved first:

"Whereas, It is the practice of some
lecturers and organizers to engage
with organizations of the Socialist
Party at the expense of their own
lectures, and to spend their money in
selecting funds or selling literature, or
in other ways, without understanding
as to compensations; and
"Whereas, Under such conditions
the ability of a comrade to remain
in the field depends upon circumstances

other than usefulness in the propaga-
nda of clean cut Socialism;

"Therefore, be it resolved, That this
convention declares itself opposed to
any method of compensating
lecturers and organizers in labor
of the payment of a definite, pre-de-
termined salary or fee."

Now committee reports favorably upon
this resolution, and recommends it to the
convention.

RESOLUTION NO. 2.

"Whereas, Exorbitant salaries or
fees have sometimes been paid to
lecturers and organizers for their ser-
vices;

"Therefore, be it resolved, That this
convention declares itself opposed to
any method of compensating
lecturers and organizers in labor
of the payment of a definite, pre-de-
termined salary or fee."

Now committee reports favorably upon
this resolution, and recommends it to the
convention.

"Whereas, Such practices are alto-
gether unparliamentary and unjust in a
body representing the workers of the
world; and
"Resolved, That this body declares
itself opposed to paying speakers or
other workers employed by the party
residential fees or salaries, placing
them above the standard of the work-
ing class which the party represents;

"We recommend that as far as possi-
ble, the locals of the Socialist party should
engage only their speakers and organizers
through the national or state organ-
izations, thus discouraging abuses arising
from the unsatisfactory methods at
present pursued."

I ought to say that in presenting the
resolution in this form, we do so after
the convention has amended the original
form of the resolution from its original form
to the form in which it is now presented.
The amendment from its original form
is that the wages of our lecturers
and other workers should be based upon
the average rate of wages of the party
membership. Now your committee
thought that since we had not an option
from Mr. Carroll D. Wright, since, per-
haps, he was unwilling yet to
come to the world, he was unwilling yet
to agree to the membership of the Socialist
party, it was better to amend the resolu-
tion in that direction. (Laughter and
applause.)

We report favorably upon the resolu-
tion as it is amended form, submitted the
following resolution to the convention:

"Resolved, That this convention de-
clares itself opposed to any method of
compensating lecturers and organizers in
labor of the payment of a definite, pre-de-
termined salary or fee."

I rise to a point of information.
This is the report of the committee?
THE CHAIRMAN: This is the re-
port of the committee so far as they have

completed it. We shall hear the resolu-
tions and not pass upon them until
they have been printed and copies hand-
ed to the delegates.

THE SECRETARY: There are not
many of them set down. (Laughter.)
THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Barnes
was a little late to dinner, that is all.

DEL HAYES (CO.): Comrade Chair-
man, I do not want to interrupt the pro-
ceedings of the convention, but I was
not present when the motion was made
and the resolutions be read and then
passed. Was that the motion and acted
upon later. Was that the motion and
acted upon later. (Laughter.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, sir, that is
the action of the convention.

DEL HAYES: It seems to me how-
ever that that is a clear waste of time.
THE CHAIRMAN: The comrade
is DEL HAYES: I would like to see
some one make a motion to read the
resolutions and adopt some method to expedite busi-
ness. If we continue in this manner we
will never get through.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate is
out of order.

DEL CARRETT (CO.): I move you,
Comrade Chairman, that we consider
the previous question, that we consider
the motion of the delegate.

DEL HANFORD (N. Y.): We have
already decided to hear the resolution.
THE CHAIRMAN: I will have to
rule the motion out of order and Com-
rade Starpgo will proceed with the read-
ing of the report of the Committee on
Resolutions.

DEL SPARGO: This is the resolu-
tion which came to us from the dele-
gation in California, or rather was sent di-
rect to the National Secretary from
Louis San Francisco:

"Resolved by the Socialist Party of
America, in convention assembled, that
the Socialist Party condemns all pro-
paganda organizations, not connected
with the Socialist Party, doing Social-
ist propaganda, and that no member
of any organization may be a member of
any organization which is affiliated with
the Socialist Party if said organiza-
tion is doing Socialist propaganda;

and being a member of any organiza-
tion as before mentioned is sufficient
cause for expulsion from the Socialist
Party."

Your committee reports unfavorably.
(Loud applause.)

Resolution submitted by Delegate Hechin, of St. Louis, Mo.:

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

"Whereas, the conflicting commercial interests of the ruling classes in Russia and Japan have induced the governments of those countries to wage a war against the nations of Europe and Japanese nations, and

"Whereas, the working people of Russia and Japan have no interest in waging this campaign of bloody warfare;

"Be it resolved, That this convention of the Socialist Party of America hereby expresses its profound sympathy to the working people of Russia and Japan, and condemns the Russo-Japanese war as a crime against progress and civilization; and be it further

"Resolved, That we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to unite with the working people of the United States in its struggle for world peace."

(Loud applause.)

The reports were favorably received (Loud applause).

Here is a resolution adopted by the State Central Committee of the Socialist Party of California. It deals with matters local to San Francisco, and came before us merely as a request that the statement be read for information which it contained. It is not, in the ordinary sense of the word, a resolution presented to the deliberations of this body. It is a statement containing information which they desire read to the convention. In view of the fact that it has been decided to print the report, I reserve the point of listening to that statement. (Applause and laughter.) I thank you.

Selecting of Time for Nominations

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move you now, Comrade Chairman, that we proceed with our regular order of business, and that we go to the nominations, and that we do so by this report. The committees are not yet ready to make their reports and are hurrying on to wards the nomination of President and Vice-President. Now the delegates assembled here do not desire to have this important transaction of the convention

come up unexpectedly, while many of the delegates are absent, and, therefore I move you that on reconsideration of the order of business, we reconsider the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President, and that such nominations for candidates for President and Vice-President be set down for Thursday afternoon, and that the order of business be so reconsidered.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): I desire to give notice of a motion to change rule 7 and 8 to read as follows, that we proceed with the nominating of President and Vice-President, and that I desire to make this motion for the same reasons which Comrade Slobodin states.

DEL. SLOBODIN: The motion is to suspend the order of business at the point and take up the nominations of candidates for President and Vice-President. THE CHAIRMAN: If I may suggest that you put the motion this way, that be not taken up until the previous orders of business have been entirely disposed of.

DEL. SLOBODIN: It cannot be done, because we will probably have to refer those back, and that will be on to the end of the session. In the meantime, we can take up this matter. THE CHAIRMAN: This is out of order. The gentleman has made a motion that the order of business be suspended, and that the nominations be taken up. The order of business cannot be suspended until what time, please?

DEL. SLOBODIN: That the order of business in that respect be suspended and the nominations be taken up Thursday at 1:30 p. m. seconded.

DEL. LEONARD (Mass.): The motion calls for an amendment of a rule which has been adopted, and we cannot amend rules unless proper notice has been given. A motion of that kind can be made at the next meeting, and consequently this motion at this time is out of order.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): A Comrade has just reported, and I don't know what action has been taken upon that report. (Gives of "Oude-er") I have frequently said when I have started reforming the world and speaking on soap-box, that when Gabriel blows the

trumpet somebody will get up and yell "Oude-er" the same as those in the back part of the room. Now, I say the matter before the house is the report of the committee on Resolutions, and then let us deal with any changes in the rules. (Gives of "Oude-er") There is Resolution 10 on this subject?

I ask that that be changed in conformity to law. I was not present, and you have already decided upon the point of order as raised by a comrade from a Western State, so believe that it is important that we should see that it is important time to prevent an error that we could not recover from later.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move that the rule of Roberts referring to this point on this particular occasion be suspended by this convention.

DEL. WALDHORST (Aba.): I make a motion that the nominations for President and Vice-President take place Wednesday afternoon, and that Delegate White (Mass.) moved to amend by making it 1:30 p. m. on Thursday and the amendment was duly seconded.

DEL. WALDHORST: Several delegates were speaking of about this matter yesterday and several of them suggested their intention of leaving for home to-night. Some could not stay any longer, some of them would go tomorrow and some would go Wednesday. I am not sure that this motion must be made at the next session. I rule that point of order well taken.

DEL. OUTRAM (Mass.): No action has been taken on the report of the Committee on Credentials, and I move that the report be accepted as progressive. The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): Upon the matter of nominating these candidates, I understand the rule is now that we must have a motion to suspend the order of business, or provide a time when we will do it.

DEL. WHITE: I presented notice of a desire to change the rules of order, I had a motion in doing it, and it was in general preceptive action in this convention. I want to say to all the members here that I am sufficiently trained in socialist ethics that when this convention decides that no nominee shall be nominated who is not a socialist, I am perfectly willing to be given to every delegate to be here at that all-important hour, and I offered that change in order that it could not be said when this convention had adjourned, that this convention had made nominations which were not satisfactory to the great majority of the delegates in this convention. Therefore,

I ask that that be changed in conformity to law. I was not present, and you have already decided upon the point of order as raised by a comrade from a Western State, so believe that it is important that we should see that it is important time to prevent an error that we could not recover from later.

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ity that there may be nominated upon our ticket a person not in accord with the expression of this convention. (Applause.) Therefore, I simply ask that the selection of our standard-bearers be postponed until we know what our standard-bearers stand for.

DEL. MILLS: A question of personal privilege. Now, I want quite the contrary to the good behavior of men with good voices. I want simply to make this statement, that when the house was all calling for a division, and when the Chair had decided that the question had been settled before the call for a division was made, the house, nevertheless, attempted to prevent a division by getting the floor and talking about something else.

DEL. SLOBODIN: A point of order, that the gentleman is not speaking to the question of personal privilege.

DEL. MILLS: I am speaking in defense of my action, which was attacked on this floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Mills, I think this is unnecessary and out of order. I think we had better stop now (Applause).

DEL. MILLS: We got a division all right. ROSE (Ohio): I rise to a question of information. If the Committee on Resolutions has not already reported in full, is it in order to submit something to their pleasure?

THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly, if you have any resolutions handed them to the committee at any time.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): In the name of Flanagan of Texas, "What are we here for? I call for the previous question."

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now before the house, the nomination of President and Vice-President—first to Wednesday afternoon, second to Thursday afternoon, third to Wednesday evening.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): A point of order. The Chairman's statement is hardly correct. The motion is to substitute for the rules providing for the election of our President and Vice-Pres-

ident, to substitute for that another day and another hour.

THE CHAIRMAN: A specified hour.

DEL. MORGAN: Not to postpone, but to substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is in effect to suspend the rules and make the nomination of President and Vice-President a special order of half-price. The first amendment is to strike out "Wednesday" and insert "Thursday." The second amendment is to strike out "Thursday" and insert "Wednesday evening session." Now, that is the way it stands. The previous question has been called and there is nothing else in order.

DEL. CAREY: A question of information. When different times are named is it not parliamentary practice to place the longest time first?

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, I put them in the order in which they were moved. There were cries of "question, question" from various delegates, and Delegate White of Massachusetts demanded the floor on a question of information.

DEL. WHITE: I rise to a point of information. I want to ask if what we are going to vote on now is the question?

SHALL THE PREVIOUS QUESTION BE PUT? THE CHAIRMAN: That is it exactly. In other words, that has already been carried.

DEL. WHITE: What has been carried?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, it hasn't.

The question is—

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): Didn't we vote here by a vote of 79 to 56 to place this whole matter on the table? Want that the question over which we had the last division?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, that was voted down. Collins of Illinois requested that the present status of the question be stated by the Secretary.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROSHI: Moved by Slobodin that the regular order of business be suspended and the President and Vice-President be nominated on Thursday afternoon at one hour. Seconded. Fought at order was raised by Leonard of Minnesota. Slob-

odin moved by the Chair. Slobodin moved that Roberts' Rules of Order be suspended on the point of order be sustained by yeas and nays. Moved—I think I know by yeas and nays.

THE CHAIRMAN: That was the original motion at 1:30. That was the original motion. Moved to amend to change to Thursday afternoon at 1:30 P. M., which was seconded. Amended further to postpone candidates on Wednesday evening.

There were yeas and nays. Moved to amend to change to Wednesday afternoon at 1:30 P. M., which was seconded, but the vote was in doubt and a squabble ensued, and the vote was that the entire motion should not be added. Consequently we are back to the original motion with its amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The President and Vice-President will call the roll on Thursday afternoon or Wednesday evening. (Cries of "Question, Question.")

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, the previous question has been called—

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: It is simply this; I understand that this was made one of the regular orders of business—

A DELIBERATE: A point of order. This is altogether out of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: If this house wishes I will state my point of order. This time it is going on at the present hour, and I am going to ask Com-

rade Slobodin, has he made a motion? (Laughter.) Now, gentlemen, my point of order is that this does not suspend the rules of this convention because the fixing of the order of business is no part of the manual of Robert's Rules of Order.

THE CHAIRMAN: It was provided for in the order. It was drawn up by the duly elected committee, and that is no part of Roberts' Rules of Order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Please let us have order. The question is, shall the question be now put? This is a point of order. The question is, shall we suspend the rules of this convention? Contrary, "no." The "yeas" have it. Now, you have three or four

minutes on a side. (Cries of "Question, Question.")

DEL. CARR (Ill.): A question of information: Some of the delegates want to know if we vote down all of these motions before the house if we will not alter all be under the rules of order by yeas and nays before they were suspended.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, sir.

DEL. CARR: Then we hope that that will be understood and that everything down the rules of order be heretofore adopted will prevail. Let us do it.

DEL. MALLY (Neb.): I want to ask the Chair, what is the next order of business on the rules? The next in regular order is the nomination of President of business, if you don't suspend this order of business, get to put in the afternoon continuing and not ready to report.

A DELEGATE: No, that is not right.

DEL. CARR: If we are to be under the rules—

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I raise the point of order that when the previous question has been called for absolutely nothing is in order but the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Oh, you don't mean that. You are out of order.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: I want a ruling on that.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention has already decided that (To Del. Carr) "On which side is this compromise speaking?"

DEL. CARR: He is asking for information.

THE CHAIRMAN: He should speak on one of the two sides.

DEL. CARR: I am still speaking on the question of information, so we may know where we are at. I am of the opinion that if all this is voted down the order of business will be the nomination of National Officers, after the report of the Committee on Resolutions, the Municipal Program, and the report of the Committee on Resolutions, and that will be about Friday or Saturday afternoon.

vided no chair for him to sit on? That is just what you are doing here. You propose to nominate a candidate on a platform that does not exist. I believe with Comrade Woodley here, I believe the proper procedure is to follow our ordinary practice, and to have a platform in the order of business has not been carried out because our committees have not reported, and you propose to put the cart before the horse when you propose to nominate a candidate before we adopt the platform of the party. While I would be in favor, if it were possible to have a platform adopted in the early morning, that comrades who are obliged to participate in that action, yet I do not believe it is correct. I do not believe it is legal according to the laws that we have adopted to govern the convention, because by so doing we are neglecting the reports of the committees.

DEL. SOUTHWORTH (Colo.): I wish to offer a substitute motion—

THE CHAIRMAN: That is out of order, the previous question having been called for.

DEL. ROBINSON (Ky.): Before the comrades explain the nature of the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes. We vote first upon the amendment to the amendment, which is to the effect that to-morrow evening, the Wednesday session, be given to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

The motion was then put and division being called for, the Chair stated that the amendment to the amendment to the amendment of 85 to 80, and thereupon put the vote upon the amendment during the time at Thursday afternoon at 1:30 o'clock. A division being called, the Chair stated:

"All those in favor of that amendment raising the time at Thursday at 1:30 will please stand. Those opposed to Thursday at 1:30 will sit down." The vote. It is not necessary to count. By a 2 to 1, the motion is lost. There were only 64 for it, and there were nearly double against it."

DEL. SPARKS (N. Y.): We demand a recount of both votes on that motion, pro and con.

THE SECRETARY: There were 64

votes for Thursday afternoon, and as in the previous question there were 118 against and 84 for, there could be no doubt that the motion was lost. (Cheers of "Oh, no, oh, no, count them, count them.")

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, but comrades, just be quiet a moment—

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): A point of order; we have already taken the affirmative vote and it has been counted.

THE CHAIRMAN: It being understood, we will take it again. This is in favor of Thursday afternoon at 1:30 o'clock will stand until counted. (6 votes were counted.) Now those opposed will stand. (90 votes were counted.) Now, comrades, the motion is 6 to 90. Now, comes the question. Shall the nominations of President and Vice-President be made a special order of business for to-morrow (Wednesday) at 1:30 o'clock? Those in favor will stand. (Those opposed may stand. The motion is lost.)

DEL. SOUTHWORTH (Colo.)

Comrades, our platform was adopted by President and Vice-President shall come after the adoption of the platform. (Applause.) No comrade in this audience is wise enough to designate at this time at what hour that platform will be adopted. It is our business when we come to the special order of business to make a special order of business until former times have been complied with (Applause), and I pass it without date.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you wish that as a motion?

DEL. SOUTHWORTH: I do, (if we pass this rule without date, without fixing the time.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. MALLY (Neb.): I understand that there are two committees now ready to report.

DEL. MALLY: I move that the report of the committee on these committees.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will state the motion is superfluous. If the comrades are ready to report I call for the report of the committee on platform (Applause).

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Comrade Chairman, in behalf of the Committee

on Platform I have to report that we are ready to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are not ready to report. I will take the report of the Committee on Municipal Program. Is the Committee on Municipal and State Program ready to report?

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): No, but the Platform Committee is ready.

DEL. MILLER (Colo.): Comrade Chairman, may I move?

THE CHAIRMAN: Please do not interrupt me. I want to ask if the Committee on Municipal and State Program is ready to report?

DEL. JONAS: The Press Committee is ready to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have called for the Platform Committee and the Municipal and State Program, both of which I was informed were ready. There seems to be no response from either.

DEL. MILLER (Colo.): Comrade Chairman, the Committee on Trades Unions may report.

THE CHAIRMAN: I move you that your report be received.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the report of the committee on Trades Unions be received.

DEL. STROUD (N. Y.): What does Comrade Miller say about that?

THE CHAIRMAN: I am told that Comrade Miller's motion is the reading of the report is its reception. The comrade had better read Roberts Rules of Order. (Laughter.)

The motion is that the report of the committee on Trades Unions be now received.

The motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the committee ready to report through Comrade Hayes of Ohio?

Comrade Hayes of Ohio then came to the platform.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before that committee renders its report, I have a question here which I desire to read. It is as follows:

"President of the National Socialists' Convention, Brand's Hall, Reno, Nevada, Socialist Local, such greetings and favors does Comrade A. A. Harnum, Secretary."

(And applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Hayes will now report for the Committee on Trades Unions.

Report of Committee on Trades Unions

DEL. HAYES: Mr. Chairman and Delegates, the Committee on Trades Unions here leave to submit the following report:

The Trade and Labor Union movement is the natural result of the capitalist system of production and necessitates the development of the proletarian class. It is the only way to the emancipation of the class interests of labor under the capitalist system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but does not abolish it. The exploitation of labor class takes place when the working class take away the means of production and distribution from the capitalist class. To fully carry out these measures the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they have become politically as well as economically free from the influence of the industrial class on the lines of the class struggle.

The Trades Union struggle requires the political activity of the working class. The workers must assert and permanently secure by their political power what they have won from their exploiters in the economic struggle.

In accordance with decisions of the International Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, the convention reaffirms the declarations that the Trade and Labor Unions are a necessary in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to affiliate with this movement.

Political differences of opinion do not and should not interfere with the action of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist principles."

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to make a motion—

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion to suspend the rules has been defeated.

DEL. BARNES: I submit that the division of the motion does not destroy part of the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: There was no motion for division.

DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of information. Is there any motion before the house?

THE CHAIRMAN: Nothing now.

DEL. PARKS: I move that we defer action on the constitution until the regular session to re-crown morning.

Seconded. PHILAN (Ill.) moved the previous question. Seconded.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROSS (Wis.): There is a motion before the house on the minutes as follows: Moved that the report of the Committee on Constitution be taken up serially and that those sections not objected to be considered as passed. Then it was moved by Sedan that the report of the house adjourn to meet at 10 a. m. and that the report of the committee be printed in the *Appeal*. That last motion was ruled out of order. We then voted against suspending the rules, which brings you back to the original motion, upon which the committee has taken up serially discussed and passed.

DEL. STEEDMAN: A point of information. The vote that was taken was on the previous question and not upon the motion and I think the Chair is wrong.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROSS: I think that is right.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): If the question to adjourn is voted down, the Committee on Constitution be sent to the printing office so that we can have something here in the morning.

Seconded.

DEL. BARNES: Will the Chair accept an amendment at this time?

DEL. BARNES: I move you, therefore, that action on the constitution be deferred until to-morrow morning for the purpose of having the constitution printed.

Seconded.

Motion put and carried, on the previous question, and the main question to postponement was then carried. Delegate Taft (Ill.) moved to take up the report of the Press Committee. Seconded and carried.

The Secretary announced that arrangements had been made to take a large party of delegates to the convention upon the disbursement of the Wednesday morning session. Delegate Bandlow announced that an invitation had been extended by the Socialist Sangerphoed to such delegates as were able to attend a social gathering arranged for Tuesday evening at the Revere House.

Report of Press Committee

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): The Press Committee has the following resolution to report. The first resolution is as follows: That the committee on the constitution be taken up serially and that those sections not objected to be considered as passed. Then it was moved by Sedan that the report of the house adjourn to meet at 10 a. m. and that the report of the committee be printed in the *Appeal*. That last motion was ruled out of order. We then voted against suspending the rules, which brings you back to the original motion, upon which the committee has taken up serially discussed and passed.

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Seconded.

DEL. BARNES: Will the Chair accept an amendment at this time?

DEL. BARNES: I move you, therefore, that action on the constitution be deferred until to-morrow morning for the purpose of having the constitution printed.

Seconded.

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DEL. BARNES: I move you, therefore, that action on the constitution be deferred until to-morrow morning for the purpose of having the constitution printed.

Seconded.

The following suggestions are submitted:

We recommend that any paper that assumes to speak for the Socialists should be under the control of party members or the party organization.

We report further on another point which was suggested by the National Executive: Recognizing the necessity of informing the party membership thoroughly of party affairs, we recommend in accordance with the suggestion of the National Secretary, a monthly bulletin, containing exclusively of political matters, excluding all other opinions. We believe this bulletin should have a nominal price of 25 cents a year. If, however, the convention should decide that this bulletin should be published gratuitously, we recommend that steps be taken to limit its circulation to party secretaries.

Your committee further recommends, for the consideration of the convention, the proposition of establishing a bureau or electing a secretary of local quorums as the constitution of the national conference, under the control of the national committee, for publishing plate matter on Socialism, such matter to be of an educational character, treating Socialism from a scientific and propagandist point of view, and not engaging into questions of tactics or strategy.

It is recommended that the convention should decide that this bulletin should be published gratuitously, we recommend that steps be taken to limit its circulation to party secretaries.

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By going to come before us before long, and we feel that our energy should be exercised in this way the least desirable of any possible control which should be exercised over the party press, because it contains no mandatory powers; it simply will dominate because of its position of authority.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a suggestion that the committee in its report on the first resolution should refer to a party paper. Seconded.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.) referred to substitute the recommendation of Local San Francisco. Seconded.

DEL. SIMONS: I want to say, so that the comrades may understand what we are recommending, that really one has no objection to the proposition which was recommended for adoption. The one to adopt was that we recommend that any paper which assumes to speak for the Socialist Party should be under the control of the party members.

DEL. D. M. SMITH: That is not the one I referred to.

THE CHAIRMAN: I suggest that you withdraw the motion and take these up separately.

DEL. D. M. SMITH: That is what I intended.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the second consent to the withdrawal?

A DELEGATE: No.

DEL. PHILAN (Ill.): I make a point of order. Before we can consider the resolution or recommendation of the committee the substitute should be voted on.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a substitute to be voted on first, and that is the only thing in order. That is that we adopt the resolution of Local San Francisco. That is the effect of the substitute.

That is open for discussion.

As to an Official Party Organ

Chairman Simons re-read the San Francisco resolution.

DEL. SIMONS: The committee recommends that this be not adopted.

Seconded.

DEL. BARNES: Will the Chair accept an amendment at this time?

DEL. BARNES: I move you, therefore, that action on the constitution be deferred until to-morrow morning for the purpose of having the constitution printed.

Seconded.

DEL. BARNES: Will the Chair accept an amendment at this time?

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Seconded.

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Seconded.

DEL. BARNES: Will the Chair accept an amendment at this time?

only another form of the same question which we have just had. (Applause.) I do not care to be placed in a position where I am attempting to take the advice of the committee. I am not going to enquire as to the personal politics of the stockholders in the publishing company which owns the magazine that Comrade Simons edits.

DEL. SIMONS: You are welcome to it.

DEL. MILLS: I do not wish to do it. It does not seem to me that this is a matter of importance. The editorship of the magazine is based upon the party ownership. No one of the same comrades who are opposed to the party ownership of the paper in order that through that ownership the editorship may be controlled by the party, propose a recommendation on the ground that somebody or some lack some share in them—some persons who are not themselves members of the Socialist party.

A DELEGATE: That is not the argument.

DEL. MILLS: If not, why then the recommendation? If there is no idea back of this recommendation, then there is no reason for this recommendation. (Applause.) I cannot see any interest that can be served. I can only see a child put into the hands of some one who wishes to further a private quarrel. I do not believe that that is the wish of

this convention. I therefore, shall vote against it on that ground. It can serve no good purpose; it simply furnishes clubs—for what purpose?

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I want to ask Comrade Simons to read that again for the Socialist.

DEL. SIMONS: "We recommend that they support that assumes to speak for the Socialist Party."

DEL. DALTON: I will say that it was far from our idea to interfere in any way with any of the private papers of the party organization."

DEL. DALTON: What in the name of common sense does this recommendation mean? If a paper like the *Answer* or *the Worker* comes out and says, "Socialism is not to be believed in this and that," what are we going to do to them? Throw them into jail. If they assume to speak for the Socialist Party? What are you going to do; put them on the carpet? What has this convention got to do with the party? We cannot go outside of the party. We cannot go outside of the party. We cannot go outside of the party. We cannot go outside of the party.

We might as well come down here and discipline John R. Walsh of the Chicago *Chronicle*. He does not assume to speak for the party; he speaks for capital. It seems to me this recommendation is a recommendation that if he laid on the table. Socialism.

The motion to lay on the table was put and carried. On motion the convention then adjourned until Wednesday morning, May 4, 1904.

FOURTH DAYS SESSION—MORNING

Chairman Richardson called the convention to order at 9 o'clock, and on motion a recess was taken until 9:20, leading to the small attendance.

At 9:20 the convention reassembled, and the following nominations were made for Chairman for the day:

DEL. (N. Y.), by Helguin, (N. Y.), by Webster (Ohio), (N. Y.), by Dingo (Mo.), (N. Y.), by Hayes (Ola.), (N. Y.), by Williams (Cal.), (N. Y.), by Klein (Alm.), (N. Y.), by Barnes and Heath declined.

The result of the vote was announced by Helguin: "Sylvester Morgan, delegate, was declared elected."

Delegate Brandt (Mo.) nominated Sylvester Morgan (Ill.) for Vice-Chairman. Delegate Mills (Kan.) was also nominated, but declined, and on motion of Delegate Mills the Secretary cast the ballot of the convention for Sylvester Morgan as Vice-Chairman.

Delegate Sylvester then assumed the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first thing in order is the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Toole of Maryland rose to his feet.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you belong to the Committee on Credentials?

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: For what purpose do you rise?

THE CHAIRMAN: To a question of personal privileges. Perhaps it is a question of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say for the information of the delegate from Maryland that all and there is nothing in the matter.

part of the Committee on Credentials.

DEL. TOOLE: I know; but this is very important. I would like to know what position the *Appeal to Reason* occupies—whether it is an official expression of the party.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are not in order in making the inquiry at this time. Is the Committee on Credentials ready to report?

DEL. TOOLE: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Vice-Chairman Morgan assumed the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: Are you ready to vote in regard to the appeal?

DEL. TOOLE: I would like to state why I appeal. It is simply this: I asked a question of information, and the precedent set in this convention has considered. I see no reason why it should not be now. That is all. It is a very important matter to bring before this convention.

CHAIRMAN SIEVERMAN: I desire to say that the Chair does not recognize a point of information in an inquiry of that sort. Delegates will be expected to bring their questions upon the regular proceedings of this convention, and the Chair is not qualified to give any information other than that which naturally comes up in the proceedings of this convention, which every member of this convention is entitled to.

The question was then put on the appeal, and the Chair was sustained.

The Chairman resumed the chair.

Several committees were called for, but were not ready to report. The Committee on Municipal Program was called for.

DEL. FLOATEN (Cal.): When ever it is in order I would like to read a memorial from Colorado that should be read under the head of that committee.

speech on one side and voted on the other side." DEL. PARKS (Ks.): I object to the motion. DEL. PARKS (Ks.): You objected too late. I asked if there was no objection, and heard none. Comrade Mills may proceed.

DEL. MILLS: I am very sure I shall do no one any harm, unless it is myself. I am very anxious to state to these Comrades that I have no objection to the motion. I have no objection to the motion, as I stated, that the first clause was sufficient to cover the case which was before us. The judgment of the convention as indicated in the discussion after I had spoken changed my mind. DEL. PARKS (Ks.): That matter is settled. I have no objection to this speech now taking our time. I was absent from the hall—

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say for your information that the delegate asked the privilege of explaining his vote after speaking upon one side and voting on the other. I asked this of him if there was any objection, and there was none offered.

DEL. PARKS: I raise the point of order. Mr. Chairman—

THE CHAIRMAN: Please be in order. The Chair is not responsible for the absence from this convention. DEL. MILLS: One sentence finishes all I have to say. Once before, before this convention, I pled for the adoption of a rule by this convention that once and for all time we might have an end to this discussion. I believe the motion is carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman of the Committee on Constitution has the floor.

Thereupon, Article 3 of the report was read as follows:

"The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by a National Committee, its officers and Executive Committee, the general body of the party," and Delegate Simons of Illinois moved that the paragraph as read be temporarily laid on the table, which motion was easily seconded and carried.

Representation on National Committee.

The Chairman of the Committee then read Section I, Article IV, as reported by the Committee, as follows:

"ARTICLE 4. Section 1. Each organized state or territory shall be represented by one member and by an additional member for every one thousand members or major fraction thereof, in good standing in the party. For the purpose of determining the representation to which each state or territory is entitled, the National Secretariat shall determine the beginning of each year the average membership of each state or territory for the preceding year."

DEL. HILLQUIST: The only proposition introduced by the committee was that each state having a membership exceeding 500 have an additional representative on the National Committee. Now, which would be one for the state of Illinois, which has a membership of 1,000, which would mean 501; and then again one for every 1,000. The reason for our doing this is on the last two referendums the party has first expressed itself as opposed to the present method in vogue regarding the number of each state's representation on the National Committee. The second vote it has expressed in the approval of one man on the committee casting more votes than another. That both methods were expressly disapproved by the party membership. The only way out of it was to give to the membership the opportunity to vote on the matter. We gave to each state one National Committeeman for every 100 members, but that would have made the National Committee an unwieldy body. It would practically be something like this convention in permanent session. In order to avoid this, the committee suggested this, which is by far not ideal, but the ideal is not doing this world. It is, however, as near as possible. As it is, the older and stronger organizations will have a stronger voice than the newer ones. It is proper that they should have a stronger voice than the newer ones. They represent the vast majority of the party membership. They will at the same time not have such an overwhelming majority as to practically nullify the representation of the smaller states. The Executive Committee will be made up of the representatives of the states. They have also been limited somewhat, and

they try to transact business with it by correspondence. I may mention that the National Committee has also been curtailed, and as well take place, if this method is adopted, they will be limited to correspondence. That is, every two years (national convention has been held, presenting a smaller body of members, so those were the reasons behind your committee in submitting this proposition.

CHAIRMAN: You have heard the thing of the committee's report. (Mills.) I rise to move it to its adoption.

CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, the paragraph will be adopted. DEL. PARKS (Ks.): I wish to object to striking out the word "and" and inserting "membership in good standing."

CHAIRMAN: The Secretary has just before taking a vote determined that the delegate proposed moves the adoption of the amendment and the deletion of the amendment and read it.

DEL. PARKS (Ks.): It occurs to me that this amendment the delegate proposed is superficial. It is how anybody can be a member of the party unless he is in good standing, and he has to stand with the stamp up to the top of his head. It is not that we take part in the discussions. It is not that we waste a good deal of time in discussing these things.

FAHRELL (Ohio): The matter taken up our time for the amendment is already in this question, and it was so

CHAIRMAN: The Secretary has just before taking a vote determined that the delegate proposed moves the adoption of the amendment and the deletion of the amendment and read it. DEL. PARKS (Ks.): It occurs to me that this amendment the delegate proposed is superficial. It is how anybody can be a member of the party unless he is in good standing, and he has to stand with the stamp up to the top of his head. It is not that we take part in the discussions. It is not that we waste a good deal of time in discussing these things.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment is as follows: to strike out of Section 1, of Article IV, the words "the average dues-paying membership," and insert the words "members in good standing."

Thereupon the question being put upon the amendment, the delegate moved by vote, Section 1 of Article IV, was adopted as reported by the committee.

Method of Electing National Committee.

Delegate Hillquist of the committee then presented Section 2 of Article IV, as follows:

"The members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent. Their term of office shall be not more than two years."

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection to this? DEL. KERRIGAN (Texas): I move to amend by adding thereto that the members of the committee elected by referendum shall be bona fide residents of the state they represent. That is the substance, and I would thank the Secretary if he would put it in proper form.

DEL. HILLQUIST: The committee has covered that by stating "the members of this committee shall be elected of and from the membership of the state which they represent." And if he is from the membership of that state, he is from the membership of that state.

THE CHAIRMAN: With that understanding, you withdraw your objection?

DEL. KERRIGAN: Yes. DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I move to strike out the word "two" and insert the word "one" and receiving a second, the amendment was withdrawn.

DEL. WESTER (Ohio): I move that the section shall also include "that he be a bona fide citizen of that state." Delegate Nagel of Kentucky called for the previous question, and upon vote it was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate will please take notice that there are but two more delegates to be heard and Delegate Spargo has the floor—upon which side?

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Against.

I desire to speak against the resolution in its present form for the same reason as that which was raised by Delegate Kerrigan, which by misunderstanding between Delegate Kerrigan and the members of the committee met. The members of the committee shall be elected by referendum vote of the membership of the states which they represent, but it does not provide that the member of the National Committee must be a resident of the state which he represents. I think that point in particular Comrade Clarke has raised in this convention now I understand we have delegates representing states of which they are not residents, and I think the point is important because we want to specifically provide that no one can be a member of the National Committee who is not a resident of the state which he represents. (Applause.)

A DELEGATE: A point of information: Comrade Hillquit appears to have it different in his reading than it is in print.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say for the information of the delegates that the committee has accepted the suggestion offered by Comrade Kerrigan and embodied it in its original proposal. I suggest to the secretaries that they read it and see whether that it be specially pointed out wherein that change lies.

DEL. HILLQUIT: As we had it originally it reads: "Members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of the membership of the states," and so on. As we have it amended, it is "The members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of and from members of the states." I suggest that the National Committee must be a member of the state which he represents. It is pointed out, however, and the committee sees it, that this point does not meet the objection raised by Comrade Kerrigan of this convention. I think the members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of the states which they respectively represent, and which they respectively represent, and shall be elected by such states by referendum. The committee accepts this recommendation of Delegate Kerrigan and is ready to embody it—

A DELEGATE: I object to that.

THE CHAIRMAN: The report is before us in the report which was read. If it is up to you have to vote it down.

I interrupt a vote was taken on adoption of the section of the report by the committee and the members of the committee shall be elected by referendum vote of the membership of the states which they respectively represent, and which they respectively represent, and shall be elected by such states by referendum. The committee accepts this recommendation of Delegate Kerrigan and is ready to embody it—

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A DELEGATE: I object to that.

amendment has not been seconded, that it be substituted for the whole. I wish to move that this section read as follows: "Section 1. The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be composed of seven members, to be elected by the National Committee from its own members."

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you offer that as a substitute for the whole?

DEL. CARR: I do.

The Secretary then read the substitute of Delegate Carr, and it received a second.

THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute for the whole has been seconded, and I recognize the delegate from Illinois to speak upon it.

DEL. CARR: I feel that the question under discussion this morning in regard to speakers has been disposed of. I wish to bring to the attention of the article, and not the question of what this Executive Committee shall be a sub-committee of the National Committee. It ought to be a committee selected by the National Committee from among its own members. On the plan proposed in the report of the committee, the Executive Committee would be the National Committee. Now it does seem to me that out of all the members of the National Committee which shall be formed, there ought to be seven men with business ability enough to transact the business of this Executive Committee. The Executive Committee of the National Committee are chosen from the National Committee itself, each one of them will have been approved by the vote of his own state. They will be men who have already been approved by the party at large, or by the state from which they are elected. The Executive Committee is certainly large enough so that it can be chosen from among the members of the National Committee, and I am opposed to raising a separate committee, to be selected by the National Committee, to select the Executive Committee. I am opposed to the Executive Committee being approved by the party or by any state, and, therefore, having in effect two committees in a measure separate from each other. On the plan proposed by this substitute, this Executive Committee will become, as it ought to be, the Executive Committee of the National Committee, composed of mem-

bers of the National Committee who have each already been approved by the respective states. Some of these states will have two or three members on the National Committee. It will be comparatively easy to select men well acquainted with the business of the Executive Committee, men well fitted for such positions, and so it does not seem to me there can be any reason (with apologies to the committee) for selecting those members outside of the National Committee which shall have been elected.

DEL. SMITH (Ill.): I am opposed to that amendment. I am opposed to it because it will make the work of that committee very much more difficult. I ought to have a sub-committee or a representative body in that sense, has much as the National Committee is, in meet only once every four years, and I submit it would be better and far safer for the largest body to select the Executive Committee. Since the National Committee meets but once in four years, it means that the business that will come before the Executive Committee will be of such importance that it would be safer to leave it to seven men selected by the mass of the party, than to leave it to a few. I submit that should we decide in favor of this amendment it would be the easiest thing possible for political agitators to creep in, and every time that these men would not want to do the work as laid down by the National Committee, they would immediately get up and say, "We are not going to abide by the party into factions. I believe that since this committee will have all of the important work to do, it should be chosen from the membership of the party. I am, therefore, opposed to the amendment and in favor of the National Committee." **DEL. STEPMAN (Ill.):** I believe that some amendments should be made so that upon the request of three members of the committee they would have a right to bring their action by referendum to the National Committee and have it acted on reviewed and decided by the party at large, or by the Executive Committee elected by the party at large, or by the National Committee. You can go your way and we will run this organization as we please. I can easily adjust the situation by

permitting this committee to be elected by the National Committee and giving the National Committee the power upon the request of three, to review the constitution of the Executive Committee. Furthermore, there is another reason: Very frequently a man who has vast information as a reader and a writer, and a large number of votes from the membership, and yet very often the man who are the best known are the most capable of filling these positions. We gain our knowledge of their abilities by working with them, by knowing their particular capabilities, and by knowing to those who actually worked with them, and would not be known to the membership at large. For that reason, also, I believe that the National Committee should elect the Executive Committee as they will be in a better position to pick out the best men. I am opposed to that amendment, and I am opposed to that upon the request of three or more the National Committee shall have a right to review the actions of the Executive Committee through referendum, we can control the situation.

DEL. BERTHA WILKINS (Cal.): I can readily conceive that if the Executive Committee is elected by the National Committee it would make no difference as far as the electing of capable men is concerned, for the simple reason that our National Committeemen are mostly not here. There may be a few of them here but the majority of the National Committeemen don't know the party, most capable to fill positions on the Executive Committee than the membership does. For that reason, I think that all these amendments trying to fix a way of electing an Executive Committee are futile. I submit we must have, however, and the work in the national office, and I think that they should be elected from three states rich close together, or four states or five states, as to make the meeting of the Executive Committee more convenient to the party, and to the state of Illinois, and three of them or two from Wisconsin, or you should divide it up as you please and let the membership elect

them or the convention submit the names of the executive members to the National Committee to be elected. In that way I think we would get the most capable men on the Executive Committee. The National Committee doesn't know any more about men capable of doing the work of the Executive Committee than the membership at large, and this is the way I think it would give practically the same result.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): Looking at the selection of this committee as provided, it seems to me that it is a misnomer to call it a committee in any sense of the word. The committee is to be chosen from among the persons who vote on the committee. This Executive Committee of the National Committee, it has no particular relation to them. It may be composed of members of whom the party membership knows really nothing. Now I hold that it is our business to know and to decide on whom we are entrusting this matter to. The party itself should select the Executive Committee and we must hold the National Committee responsible for the conduct of the affairs given to them, and we cannot allow them to entrust it to other parties of whom we do not know anything.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

DEL. OTT (Wyo.): I have not spoken as yet on my amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Did you move an amendment?

DEL. OTT: Yes; and I would like to speak on my amendment.

DEL. CAR (Ill.): What is the matter now before the house, Mr. Secretary?

THE SECRETARY: The matter before the house is the substitute which has been offered for all these various amendments by Delegate Carr of Illinois. It reads as follows: "Section 1. The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be composed of seven members, to be elected by the National Committee from its own members."

DEL. OTT: I ask to speak on the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the amendment and proceed with the substitute.

organization employ only such persons as to address the question of the recommendation by the bureau? Our local organization, for instance, in San Diego, where I live, has a speaker who is in good standing in the party and who maintains his standing in the party. Now I want to know if we can have a speaker who is in good standing in the context of the state or national organization?

THE CHAIRMAN: I would advise you to see the chairman of the committee on Constitution. That is all the information I can give you. I want to say further that the sources of information open to the Chair are open to every one of you. You are all free to go to depend for your information upon your own resources.

DEL MEYER: I ask for a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no question of personal privilege in order. Nothing is in order but a point of order. DEL MEYER: Then I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is it?

DEL MEYER: I desire to call attention to the fact that various discussions are going on in the rear of the hall and it is impossible to hear the delegate who has the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: That point of order is well taken. The sergeant-at-arms will see that the speaker at the hall. Now, Delegate Wooding, proceed.

DEL WOODBEY: I want to say that if the effect of this measure now proposed to be put into the constitution is to take away the liberty of the local organization, without the consent of the state organization or national organization, it may be repugnant in the party to come before them and address them, then I think it is a very dangerous precedent to establish, and I undertake to say that if that thing is carried through you can never effect that with the local organization. I think the local organizations in our state could not do that. I think speakers under an arrangement of that kind without first asking the state secretary as to whether they could do it, and I tell you that you may pass that if you please, but the locals of this country will pay no attention to it whatsoever.

They will employ such speakers as they may wish. I don't think that is the proper way to handle it. I think that when this constitution goes to the locals and the several state organizations, they will put their own construction on it notwithstanding what construction the committee that drew it put upon it and notwithstanding what construction the working of this section, a local could not employ a man to speak before them unless they have the consent of the state organization, and I do not think that we could enforce such a rule.

DEL HOLLENDER (Ind.): I will say that we have no right to dictate as to whom the various locals shall employ to address them. Therefore, I am in favor of allowing them to have whom they choose. Why, suppose a local of a state organization is opposed to a certain speaker and, therefore, the local did not want that speaker. Why, the national lecture bureau could send that fellow and they would have to take him and they would have to take him right and, therefore, I am opposed to it.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to point out that the resolution is not a recommendation of the committee but that when we have discussed the resolution we have done just one-half, we will have passed upon just one-half of the Committee on Constitution's work. Now if we are going to get through we will have to have fewer speeches and more time to have time to do something else.

(Loud applause)

The previous question was moved and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now before you, comrades, is the motion to strike out the word "local" from Section 2 of Article VIII. The question was then put on the motion. The motion was carried. The Chairman: It was declared that the motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment.

A division was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: Division was called for. All in favor of striking out the word "local" will rise and be counted by the Secretary. The amendment is defeated. The Secretary will please read the next. Before having read it, however, the question comes

on the adoption of the committee's resolution. The adoption of Section 2 of Article VIII was then put to a vote voice vote and carried.

DEL MEYER (Ind.): A question of personal privilege, Comrade Chairman: I want to read for the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sorry.

DEL MEYER: I called your attention to the fact.

THE CHAIRMAN: Proceed.

Section 3 of Article 8 was then read,

"Section 3. The National Committee shall establish a uniform system of propaganda working under its auspices," the adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded.

DEL JACOBSEN (Iowa): I move from the word "uniform" be stricken out and the words "maximum and minimum" rate be inserted.

The motion was seconded.

DEL FLOATEN (Colo.): I move to amend by striking out the words "maximum and minimum" and inserting the words "national and international."

THE CHAIRMAN: Such an amendment is not admissible because it nullifies the Comrade Jacobson's amendment. The question was called for and Del FLOATEN's amendment being put to a vote voice vote, was declared lost.

The question then recurring upon the adoption of the section as reported by the committee it was declared adopted.

A NATIONAL LITERATURE BUREAU.

Section 1 of Article 9 was then read,

Section 1. The National Committee shall also maintain in the headquarters of the party a department for the dissemination of Socialist literature.

It was moved and seconded that the motion be adopted as read.

DEL MEYER (Ind.): I desire to amend that section by adding the following: "Pamphlets and special propaganda literature, other than books, in the United States."

THE CHAIRMAN: Allow me to inform the delegate before proceeding any further that that matter is more fully covered in section 2, and I would, therefore, suggest that your amendment

would be more appropriate under that section.

DEL MEYER: All right.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment will stay on the Secretary's table until we come to section 2.

A vote voice vote was then taken on the motion to adopt Section 1 of Article 9 as read, and the motion was carried.

Section 2 of Article 9 was then read,

"Section 2. The literature bureau shall keep for sale to the local organizations of Socialist books, pamphlets and other literature, and shall have the right with the approval of the committee, to publish works on the theoretical Socialist or for the progress of Socialist propaganda, but this clause shall not be construed as authorizing the bureau to publish any periodicals."

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been regularly moved and seconded to amend Comrade Meyer if he presses his amendment to this section?

DEL MEYER: I do.

DEL IRVING M. SMITH (Ore.): Mr. Chairman, I move that we strike out the word "theoretical."

The motion was seconded.

DEL MEYER: I desire to state that I introduced this amendment because I have been a secretary of counties and find that it is desirous to have this literature in different languages, and, therefore, I think it is necessary that the national party in printing national literature in the form of pamphlets and so forth, furnish literature in the various languages of the comrades supporting the Socialist Party in the United States, and that is the reason I introduced the amendment here.

The question was called for.

DEL TART (Ind.): I wish to amend by striking out the authority to publish works on theoretical Socialism and have it read simply that authority be given simply to publish propaganda pamphlets.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): The amendment to the amendment, I think, covers all grounds. Possibly Comrade Meyer will accept it.

DEL. MEYER: I accept that.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is accepted. DEL. HILLGOTT: I desire merely to save the convention some work in the future. Section 2 as it is drawn now contains enough to embrace the publication of a paper or any other language, and if there is any or all language but English the right of the literature bureau has the right, I think, to publish the same under this section without any special provision by the delegates being amended.

DEL. SPEARS: Was again called for. THE CHAIRMAN: The reason we want that in is because it is mandatory so they will have to do it.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I say we do not want this thing here so they will have to publish it in every language in which we have got comrades. We do not want this to read so that by a strict interpretation of the section we would be required to publish these pamphlets in all languages. I say we do not want that.

(Cries of "Question!")

DEL. THAMS (N. D.): I want to say to the mover of the amendment that the United States language is good enough for me. I do not see any necessity for publishing these pamphlets in all other languages. We have here in the United States.

DEL. GOANZOU (Pa.): I hope the amendment will be accepted and I hope the literature will be accepted and I hope foreign languages. As published in all languages, there is a great deal of literature printed on the other side of the water, but it is not fitted for propaganda purposes in this country because it does not bear out the situation in this country, and we ought to have it in the various languages something like the various conditions here, and distribute it among our comrades from the other side.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): Is the literature bureau a set of persons, or is it an activity of the National Executive Committee? The second section reads that the literature bureau shall have the right with the approval of the committee. Who is it that has the right,

and to whom shall the committee give its approval?

DEL. HILLGOTT: The point of the matter is, we have provided for the National Committee, the literature bureau, and the headquarters in one section with the understanding that it may publish with the approval of the committee works on Socialism for propaganda. In other words, it will be one of the departments of the national office, secretary who will be in charge, and publication shall be undertaken with the consent of the Executive Committee.

DEL. WILSON: I wish to say that there is no provision in this section for the nomination of such a person, or for the appointment of such a person.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): The motion provides for the keeping of a sort of all kinds of literature. I trust that the delegates will rest to the common sense of the Executive Committee, or National Committee, or assistant secretary. The National Committee will supervise the matter. They know all that there is in the printing, and so I say let us have this confidence in the national office and get down to business. (Applause.)

The previous question was moved.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I move to lay the amendment on the table.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been regularly moved and seconded that the amendment moved by Comrade Meyer be laid on the table.

The question was put and the amendment tabled.

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THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will now read the amendment offered by Delegate Smith from Oregon.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment is as follows: "The amendment to the amendment to the amendment to the word 'thereafter' in Section 2 of Article IX."

The question was then put on the amendment and it was declared carried. The question then returned to the adoption of the section as amended, a live voice vote was taken, and it was declared adopted.

Section 3 of Article IX was then read as follows:

"Section 3. The profits of the literature bureau shall go into the general fund of the party treasury."

The adoption of the section as read was declared adopted.

DEL. HOLLENBERGER (Ind.): I move to amend that that section be tabled.

The motion was seconded and the question being put, the motion was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question before us now is the adoption of the committee's report.

Section 3 of Article IX as read was then put on a live voice vote and declared adopted.

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Section 1 of Article X was read, as follows:

"Section 1. The regular national conventions of the party shall be held in all years in which elections for President and Vice-President of the United States are to be held." The motion, duly seconded, the section was adopted.

Section 2 of Article X was then read, as follows:

"Section 2. Special conventions of the party may be held at any time if decided upon by a general vote of the party membership."

The motion, duly seconded and carried, the section was declared adopted as read.

Section 3 of Article X was read, as follows:

"Section 3. The dates and places of holding such regular or special conventions shall be fixed by the National Committee."

The motion, duly seconded and carried, the section was declared adopted.

Section 4, Article X, was read as follows:

"Section 4. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state delegate having one additional delegate for every two hundred members in good standing."

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I move to amend by striking out the words "two hundred" and inserting the words "one hundred."

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the motion and it has been seconded. Are you ready for the question?

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I have no other amendment I wish to offer. I move to amend by adding to Section 4 at the end of the section, the following:

"But in every case the delegate shall be a resident of the state which he or she represents." We have delegates right on the floor of this convention who are not residents of the state which they represent.

DEL. HILLGOTT: I would like to state for the benefit of Comrade Berger that the committee has decided it advisable to add the following to this section:

"Provided, however, that no candidate shall be considered eligible unless he or she is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented."

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, the proposition will be disposed of in the report. There being no objection, it is so ordered.

DEL. GIBBS (Mass.): I wish to offer an amendment to any particular section, but to the article as a whole. This amendment is somewhat material to all of section 4, therefore, I would ask permission to present it.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is germane to the question under consideration we will allow it.

DEL. GIBBS: I move as an amendment to the whole article, a new section, which shall read as follows: "The National Committee shall provide a special fund for payment of expenses of the delegates in attending the National Convention. I move that as an amendment for Article X."

THE CHAIRMAN: It seems to me that before us first, and then take up your proposition as a separate section or an addition to this matter.

DEL. GIBBS: I will accept the committee's suggestion if the comrades understand that it comes up later on.

DEL. LANGWORTHY (Tex.): I move to amend the amendment by striking out the words "one hundred" and inserting the words "one hundred."

The motion was seconded.

We are represented here on the basis of one hundred, and if we should have been represented on the basis of two hundred, we would have had consisted of two hundred. It had been upon the basis of one hundred, and the states would not have had any delegates in this convention. I think the effect of this amendment would be to shut out a good many states.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say for the information of the delegate, that I have not heard his motion seconded. The motion was seconded. It is not open for discussion.

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): There is one objection to the amendment offered by Comrade Gibbs and that is if you have the representation on so low a basis you will have a great convention and the national organization will never come into being.

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DEL. SAUNDERS: I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: Get your information, delegate from Illinois, as we go along. The Secretary will now read the amendment. Get your information from that. (Laughter and applause.)

THE SECRETARY: The first amendment is a motion to amend by striking out the words "one hundred," and making it "one hundred."

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: Get your information, delegate from Illinois, as we go along. The Secretary will now read the amendment. Get your information from that. (Laughter and applause.)

THE SECRETARY: Moved by Delegate D. J. Hill to amend by striking out the words "two hundred," and inserting the words "one thousand."

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I move you the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now reverts to the original report of the committee. The chairman of the committee will read this again, because there have been certain additions. Kindly give the floor of attention. Immediately upon vote upon it. The reading of this we will do.

DEL. SMITH (Ore.): In the face of the amendment, I think it is better to have the states represented on the basis of one hundred.

Section 4. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state and territory being entitled to one delegate at large, and one additional delegate for every two hundred members in good standing. No delegate shall be eligible unless he is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented.

THE CHAIRMAN: At this time we have nothing before us but the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say

right here that we have got about fifty minutes to complete this report. You can see that we still have about one-fourth of it to pass upon. We will have to move rapidly if we hope to get through. Is there any other matter, before we go into the next amendment?

THE CHAIRMAN: There is Comrade Gibbs' amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The Secretary will read it.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment is to add one more section to Article X, to be known as Section 5, and to read as follows: "The National Committee shall provide a special fund for the payment of the expenses of the delegates in attending the national convention."

DEL. GIBBS: Mr. Chairman, I do not know whether it is necessary for me to speak a moment upon this question. I simply want to say in justice, however, to the states that are at distance from the convention that there has been no intention of making a body of delegates attend the convention and pay their own expenses, there is a tendency to have men come here for a week's outing, a week's vacation, and that may explain to some extent the vast seats found in this convention that we have.

DEL. GIBBS: I say for this reason that the convention will adopt the amendment to the article.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): This is a serious question, and I think we ought to leave it to the states to make provision for the payment of their own delegates to the national convention, rather than putting it on the national organization. If the states want to be represented in

the national convention, let the states pay for their delegates and make provision in their state constitution and let the states take up a collection for their delegates to the national convention. It seems to me as though there were difficulties in the way of making the states and states from afar off not get their full representation. I believe there is danger in this and I hope that the section will not be adopted without some discussion.

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time. I know the state secretaries that are here and that have the job of dealing with the locals do not get any pay, but they do get a small honorarium. I have no experience at all right after they were freed, I think, with the proposition to make reports every three months. I think they are doing pretty well if they go every week or two weeks and do not other work and make reports too, and I think they are satisfied to make it every three months.

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I think the delegate from Alabama will find the matter to be very simple. The only thing that will be done will be the local part of the membership. I take your word for it. I think monthly reports should be had, and I am in favor of the original proposition. The question was put on the amendment to strike out "monthly" and insert "quarterly" and the amendment was lost. The section adopted.

DIRS TO THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

Section 6 was read, as follows:

"Sec. 6. The State Committees shall pay to the National Committee every month a sum equal to the cents within their respective territories."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I move to amend by striking out the word "live" and inserting the word "three," for this reason: "To the extent that the part of the agitation and organization will be taken care of by the states respectively. It is true that when you have a great number of unorganized states the funds required by the national organization for organizing unorganized districts are greater than they are in organized districts. But with a larger development and greater number of members, just to the extent that we increase in members the funds of the national organization increase, and at the same time the members in the respective states are better able to take care of their own districts and organize their members. When we commenced assuming that we had a membership of 3,000—now we have 35,

000, but while the funds in the hands of the national organization have increased, limiting its organization to the unorganized territories to a large extent, and by reducing the amount from five to three cents, in the next few years will give substantially the same sum that you are now receiving, and you would have it by reason of the fact not only of the increase due to the efforts of the national organization, but also the fact that the state organizations, which we often can use their funds to greater advantage in organized states than a national organization can, because to a large extent you are unfamiliar with the localities and the work that should be done in the respective states. I think the money in the respective states, the funds going to the national headquarters, and not to the national headquarters. For that reason I think three cents will be better for the members and better for organization purposes, and for the party.

DEL. (N.Y.): I am in favor of the amendment. The committee that spoke last upon this proposition is anticipating a large increase in the membership, but at the same time we cannot figure on that. We have before us at the present time a national campaign. The expenses of the national headquarters, the expenses of the two-thirds national committee with two-fifths of that which they are at present receiving from the party. If you do that you will triple the work that you have outlined for this national committee, and it would be an unwise move on the part of the party. I am in favor of the amendment. I want to call attention. (Applause.) In the last two years, with the official work of our national officers, we have wiped out a debt that has been hanging over the party for four or five years, and we have arrived at that point now where we have put upon the national officers a burden that is within their power and which they have been having to carry out. They have been having a balance of \$115, or \$120, or \$125, left at the end of each month, and you want to take away from them two-fifths of their present revenue, which is \$200, and you want to reduce the average income of the party to \$100. I think the amendment it will do a thing that it

not wise nor in the interest of the organization.

DEL. HAZLETT (Colo.): I would like to speak against the adoption of the amendment, not in regard to the amount, but in regard to the point of order. Has this amendment been seconded? THE CHAIRMAN: It has not. DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I rise to a point of order. Has this amendment been seconded? THE CHAIRMAN: Then he has to right to discuss it. DEL. BICKETT: You will hear in mind that the expenses of the organization even at the lowest will be about \$2,000. It will take \$5000 a month of five pay the expenses of the National Secretary. You will incur many other expenses that you should take account of. Ten cents to the national organization per capita is not too much. Fifty cents even for the organization is not too much. I maintain that the reason why I understand what the organization is for. It is evident to any one who has been active in this movement for the last five or six years that we have a great many in our organization who do not realize the responsibilities of the organization and the fact that they are attracted to the movement by the hypnotic word Socialism, and they come in in a hurry, and to maintain our existence our officers have got to be expert hypnotists, you might say. They have to draft their letters and communications in a way that will draw them on, and I am opposed to that. I would sooner see a membership of 10,000 Socialists paying fifty cents a month, and have a good, strong militant organization, than have an organization of 50,000 members with about one hundred speed built it on keep, that you will need the spellbinders, and that will destroy the compactness of your organization. You will have members following leaders and have factional fights. But when you build up an organization with every man realizing the responsibility that you have in the organization, if he don't want to pay fifty cents a month, then he can go to work for Socialism and vote for it and truth, but we want members